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CHILDREN'S DREAMS

AN UNEXPLORED LAND

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BY

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PREFACE

SHORTLY after the Great War, as a result of an investigation of a large number of children's dreams, the author published a comparatively bare record of the results obtained which aroused far more interest than he had anticipated. Since then he has secured material from other sources—particularly from children in American schools—which supports in many ways the evidence of the changing nature of the dream during the child's development as shown in the statistical records of the dreams of English children. Some of this material was summarized in his contribution to the Section on Children's Dreams in a *Handbook of Child Psychology*, published by the Clark University.

In the present volume the original records of the more important of the children's dreams are retained and it is hoped that some of them may serve as starting-points for further investigations of a more detailed character than is possible in a series of mass experiments.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

From the very dawn of history the world of dreams has occupied a position of unique interest. In the biblical record the interpreter of dreams was regarded as a man of exceptional power and ability who could penetrate the mystery of the occult and give to the world the meaning of the night-vision. Among primitive races the dream is regarded with reverence and anxiety as the message from the back of beyond of something of immense importance to the welfare of the dreamer. Hence, the extraordinary influence of those who profess to be able to unravel the symbolism of the mysterious visitation and translate it into the language of everyday life.

The universality of the dream is in itself evidence of its biological significance, but in the past the scientific study of the dream has received insufficient attention.

The experiences of the Great War, however, brought into special prominence the position of the dream and established its importance as a most valuable instrument in the successful diagnosis of certain forms of mental disability caused by the stress and strain and other abnormal conditions imposed by the severe struggle of long-continued warfare. The special hospitals for shell-shock and similar causes of mental disturbance were largely under the control of distinguished psychologists who could use to great advantage the evidence afforded

by the dreams of their patients. In many cases such investigation pointed clearly to a distant source of trouble in early childhood by repression of painful experiences, the discovery and release of which resulted in the solution of the difficulty and the ultimate complete recovery of the sufferer.

A brief account of one of these cases, which is fairly typical, will indicate that where every other line of investigation had failed, after most careful and sympathetic study by experts, the dream provided an answer to a problem which appeared to be insoluble. A soldier, fighting in France, with an excellent record, was for a short time buried by the material thrown up by a bursting shell in his immediate neighbourhood, and was in total darkness until the dirt was removed. He was sent down to the clearing station and it was found that he had suffered no physical injury, but that he had developed acute claustrophobia, which made it impossible for him to go into the trenches again. He was sent home and in the hospital did not give the slightest response to any recognized fear tests, but the claustrophobia persisted. Fortunately, he then had a dream which seemed to have a bearing on the case. The man's mother was sent for and, in discussion, it transpired that as a young boy he had been locked up in a dark cupboard for being naughty. He was so terrified that after this painful experience he became docile and well-behaved. On becoming naughty again, after a long interval, he was once more locked up in the cupboard, and he was so overcome with terror that he fainted. This experience was so distressing that the

memory of it, with its emotional setting, was effectively repressed. After years had elapsed, in the return to a similar condition—the darkness caused by being buried alive—the repressed material augmented the terror of the situation. On relieving the mind of the burden of the repressed material by appropriate means, the claustrophobia disappeared, and the soldier returned to the war and had no further difficulty. Rivers had a similar claustrophobic case in which, as a boy, his patient had by accident been shut in a dark passage in which the terror was increased by a barking dog. Here also a cure was effected through the evidence afforded by a dream.

Naturally, with the great advance of the dream in its employment in the investigation of neurotic cases, and the improvement of the technique in psychoanalysis, there has been a concentration of attention on the dream in its relation to the flotsam and jetsam of the mental hospital and the consulting-room. It is, however, remarkable that so little consideration has been given to the dreams of normal, healthy children. Freud in the *Traumdeutung* gives approximately 2 per cent of his space to them.

The dreams of such children have, in fact, received comparatively little attention at the hands of skilled investigators since the classical researches of Sante de Sanctis, Marie de Manaceine, and Miss Calkins, and even their researches consisted chiefly of the intensive study of a few cases, some of which, moreover, were of abnormal type.

It is most unfortunate that there is so much confusion between the dream of the neurotic and that of the

normal child. There is no such confusion in the physical condition of the child. It would be a great mistake to apply the methods which have proved so successful in pathological cases to the dreams of healthy children, although they may occasionally be of considerable value in investigating difficult cases among school children of unstable type who do not respond to ordinary methods of instruction. The dream of the normal child may be invaluable in many directions, but it should always be borne in mind that the problem is a different one from the investigation of the dream of the neurotic. There is undoubtedly a rich field for research in connection with the dreams of normal children which may yield a harvest as abundant in educational procedure as that obtained by psychoanalysis in the realm of pathology.

In his book on *The Common Sense of Dreams*, Watt suggests a simpler means of dealing with children's dreams and gives examples of his own interpretation of two schoolboys' dreams described by distinguished experts. The very marked divergence of the conclusions reached by experts, in full possession of the details, is illuminating as showing that the interpretation of children's dreams by adult methods is of comparatively little value. The varying symbolism from age to age, and, moreover, the extraordinary difficulty of obtaining a sufficiently accurate description of a child's dream to use it as the subject of a meticulous analysis would make such an attempt a perilous enterprise.

In his investigations of the dreams of London children the writer had access to an unlimited amount of suitable material. He also had the invaluable assistance of

teachers in the schools in which the children recorded their dreams. No preliminary notice of any kind was given to the children, so that no discussion or preparation was possible. That this condition was carried out effectively was evident from the extraordinary variety of dream material obtained from pupils in the same class.

The dreams of very young children were related individually to skilled observers, but all dreams of children of eight years of age and over were recorded by the dreamers themselves in response to the request: "Write a true and full account of the last dream you can remember. State your age, and also say about how long ago you had the dream you have described."

The numbers of dreams obtained from various sources were approximately:

150 from boys and girls, 5, 6, and 7 years of age, in infants' schools.
2,000 from boys, 8 to 14 years of age, in elementary schools.
2,000 from girls, 8 to 14 years of age, in elementary schools.
300 from boys and girls, 10 to 15 years of age, in central schools.
600 from boys and girls, 10 to 18 years of age, in secondary schools.
300 from boys, 10 to 16 years of age, in industrial schools.
300 from girls, 10 to 16 years of age, in industrial schools.
110 from boys and girls, 10 to 16 years of age, in schools for the blind.
140 from boys and girls, 10 to 16 years of age, in schools for the deaf.
150 from boys and girls, 10 to 16 years of age, in schools for the physically defective.

It will be seen by the children's accounts of their

dreams that they have an abnormal power of graphic description of events in which they are intensely interested, such as those supplied by the dream material. This power so far exceeds their ability in ordinary essay-writing on topics selected by the teacher, and is, moreover, so much in advance of their general standard of achievement, that it would appear as if some fresh mental element had come into play. The matter is worthy of further investigation.

In analysing the children's dreams, the following, among other elements, have been considered: the various types of wish-fulfilment and fear dreams; kinaesthetic dreams; references to fairy stories; compensation dreams; dreams of bravery and adventure; school activities; cinemas; exciting books and death incidents; dreams in which conversations are recorded; and the presence of other witnesses than the dreamer.

The analysis simply attempts a rough classification of the type of dream peculiar to children of different ages, showing the variation from year to year and the influence of environment. The large number of dreams investigated makes the conclusions reliable within this limited sphere and points the way to a more detailed and thorough investigation. The educational possibilities of such a fascinating line of inquiry are unlimited.

An attempt was made to analyse on a similar plan the dreams of training-college students of eighteen to twenty-two years of age, but the majority of them were so heavily camouflaged that it was impossible for anyone who was not a trained expert in psychoanalysis to deal with them satisfactorily. The writer, therefore,

confined his attention entirely to the dreams of school children. Many of the dreams were recorded soon after the Great War.

Much more recently similar investigations have been carried out among a large group of physically defective children in a residential school in England. Records of a large number of dreams written under exactly the same conditions as those of the London children have also been obtained from children in American, French, and German schools. They present so many points of interest that further investigation on a more comprehensive scale would probably yield important results as indicating the child's attitude to life, as represented by the dream, at similar ages, under varying types of environment in different countries.

CHAPTER II

THE NATURE OF THE DREAM

With such a fascinating objective as that of the unravelling of dreams, it is only natural that when psychology joined the ranks of the experimental sciences, expert investigators should be attracted to this particular field of research. Of these investigators, the most distinguished are Freud, the leader of the Vienna School, and Jung, the leader of the Zurich School.

According to Freud, what is known as the unconscious consists almost entirely of material which has been repressed because it is painful and repulsive to consciousness. This suppressed material may eventually become so dissociated from the normal content of consciousness that the ordinary laws of association have not the power of recalling it, as in the case of ordinary facts and experiences which are not repulsive to consciousness. To prevent the passage of the contents of the unconscious into the state of consciousness, there is a well-ordered mental adjustment, which Freud personifies under the name of the censor.

In the sleeping condition, however, the censor is less alert than in the normal waking state, and in dreams, material in a disguised form, a sort of camouflage, which makes it appear unoffensive, enables some of it to get through from unconsciousness to consciousness. The expert knowledge of the investigator enables him, by removing the camouflage, to lay bare the true material

as it exists in the unconscious, and herein lies the skill of the interpreter of dreams. A dream which appears to the layman simply an absurd jumble of irrelevant material may now become something which is full of meaning.

There are various theories with regard to the nature and purpose of the dream, of which the most important are those associated with the names of Freud, Rivers, and Watt. Freud contends that the dream is the fulfilment of a wish and that every dream has a meaning and has psychic value. Rivers regards the purpose of the dream to be the solution of a conflict, whereas Watt maintains that the removal of a reluctance or reluctances is the chief function. From the investigation of a large number of children's dreams, it would appear that, in the majority of cases, the wish-fulfilment theory affords the most obvious solution in the explanation of the dream. On the other hand, it does not appear possible, without an extension of the normal meaning of words, to bring every dream into the wish-fulfilment category.

Freud admits that children's dreams generally contain no problem to be solved. There is no necessary division into latent and manifest content. The oft-quoted Simony Hut dream in which a child dreamed, after seeing the Hut through a telescope, that the arduous climb was over and that the Hut had been reached, is typical. He (Freud) expresses a strong doubt whether an unfulfilled wish from the day before—as in children's dreams—would suffice to create a dream in an adult. Similarly, the effect of reading a book the day before in producing

a dream, also quoted by Freud, would rarely have any influence on an adult's dream:

> "A boy of eight dreamt that he was being driven with Achilles in a war chariot guided by Diomedes. The day before he was assiduously reading about great heroes."

In the writer's collection of dreams, a crippled boy of nine, who had evidently been reading about St. George and the Dragon, gives the following account of a vivid dream:

> "Last night I dreamt that I was a brave knight. A great big monster came running after the most beautiful lady I ever saw. I drew my sword and hit the monster on his back. He roared so loud that the lady screamed. I said, 'I will soon slay this monster,' and I hit him again and then I cut off its head, and he fell dead on the ground. The lady said, 'You are a hero.' Then I awoke."

There is, in fact, abundant evidence that the dream of the child is much affected by the reading of an exciting book just before going to sleep. This type of dream has very definite characteristics of its own, and may not be so trustworthy in consequence of the obvious difficulty of separating the book story from the dream story. The child nearly always assumes the most attractive character in the book, not necessarily of the same sex, and the changes effected in the dream are

sometimes very interesting. If the dream could definitely be relied upon this might throw a light upon the dreamer's character by the over-emphasis of certain qualities of the hero or heroine. As will be seen, this type of dream is especially common among blind children.

The dream makes a very strong appeal to the young child principally because of the close relationship which exists between it and the fairy story. The conditions of the dream, with the complete absence of anything in the nature of critical reasoning, are obviously favourable to freedom for an extended use of absurd combinations in the bringing together of a great variety of previous experiences, not in their original connections, but in a new orientation, to meet the purposes of the dream. Many of these amusing combinations found in the dream would have been impossible in the waking condition without the very rare gift of an imagination capable of freeing itself from the chains of conventional methods of grouping experiences.

Bergson, who lays great stress on the presentative nature of the origin of dreams, points out that in the dream we can analyse sense impressions received from the outside world and use those elements necessary to satisfy the mood of the dreamer and the idea that fills his imagination at the time. Thus "a gust of wind blowing down the chimney becomes the howl of a wild beast or a tuneful melody."

The sense of time and also that of distance are obliterated; the dreamer suddenly finds himself in a different part of the world and as suddenly finds himself at home. All this adds to the wonder and charm of the

dream for the child. Normal, healthy children are very rarely seen to laugh in their dreams, though they frequently smile, probably as the result of the pleasure derived from wish-fulfilment rather than the appreciation of any humorous element, which is recognized as humorous, in the dream state. Any evidence to the contrary is probably due to a confusion of the hypnagogic—or half-waking—state with that of true sleep. In this connection the records of dreams are more reliable than the observation of sleepers.

There is the same absence of amusement and laughter in the dreams of American children. Here is an example of one of their ludicrous fear dreams:

> "Once I dreamt that I was captured by cannon balls (evidently cannibals). They all began to jump and yell. I was surprised to see myself in my own parlour. There was a fire, and a kettle was over it full of boiling water. They threw me into it and once in a while the cook used to come over and stick a fork into me to see if I was cooked. Then he took me out and gave me to the chief, who was just going to bite me when I woke up."

In the dreams recorded in connection with the writer's investigation there are numerous examples of that sudden switching off from one line of thought to another which appears to be far more characteristic of children's than of adults' dreams. For example, a girl who is swimming to save a friend from drowning meets a teacher in the water, who tells her to go back to school

at once, because she has been selected to take the part of Julius Caesar in the play. In other cases, in accounts given of very dramatic incidents, some school incident, frequently of having sums marked, is interpolated, and then the action continues as if there had been no break in the exciting narrative.

As can be seen by the results of the analyses of children's dreams, the content of the dream varies from age to age in the type of wish-fulfilment, fear, main interest, and other particulars. It varies also with the state of health of the child. Certain elements appear practically at the same age with groups of children, and others disappear in equally regular order. A comparative study of wish-fulfilments is most illuminating in showing the change of interest as age increases.

A series of dreams of the same child recorded within a short time of each other, although they contain a variety of very different material, have certain characteristics of a constant nature which enter into the constitution of each and not only afford an excellent clue to the child's chief interests, but give a certain amount of evidence as to the type of mental make-up to which it belongs.

In the records of many dreams conversations are given, but these are lacking in interest. Compared with the imagery, the grotesque and irrational grouping of incidents, the conversation, which obeys a certain logical order, appears commonplace. From the investigations it appears that boys and girls of the ages of twelve and thirteen dream far less than before or afterwards. The age of maximum dreaming is given by

different observers as between twenty and twenty-five years. Generally speaking, dreams increase with the variety and activity of the intellectual life. There is much evidence in the records that any complaint involving a high temperature has a most serious effect on the nature of the dream.

According to Stern, in his *Psychology of Early Childhood*,[1] dreaming goes back as far as the child's first year, and, although spontaneous recitals of dreams seldom occur before the fifth year, the psychoanalyst makes use of the dreams of two-year-olds. He shares with others the opinion that generally dream concepts have some connection with the child's experiences of the day before the dream. With many other observers, he considers that indigestion, an over-full bladder, or a disturbed circulation may materially affect the nature of the dream.

The nature of the dream is well-summarized by Watt in the chapter on "Reflection" in *The Common Sense of Dreams:*

> "The dreaming mind, we may suppose, is working on an averagely lower level and within a narrower field. Its power of abstraction is weakened and it does not make the effort of reflection required to bring its operations into connection with their intellectual causes or occasions and so to survey their adequacy as solutions methodically and logically. In other words, dreams are reveries, not acts of hard thinking."

[1] George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

As we have seen there is a great difference between the dream of a child and that of an adult. In the child's case the dream is very largely an overflow from the events of the day before with the important difference that any difficulty in the day's proceedings is frequently put right in the dream. For example, a boy asks his father to buy him a bicycle and he tells him that he cannot afford to do so, and naturally he is disappointed. In the dream, however, all is put right, and the boy not only receives a bicycle, but a much better one than he anticipated. The dream of the boy is clearly a wish-fulfilment. As a rule the events of the child's dream cluster around the events of the previous day.

In the adult's dream, although something that occurred the day before forms the starting-point, the material of the dream generally has no reference whatever to recent events and may be heavily symbolized. One of the great compensations of the adult's dream is that the memory of his worries and troubles rarely enters dreamland. The exhausted emotions of the day find rest in sleep at night. During the London air raids the writer was keeping a careful record of his dreams, but in only one case did any raid form the subject of a dream, and that was not of an unpleasant, but rather of an amusing, nature.

In many ways the dream may be regarded as the guardian of sleep. The part played by the dream as an antidote to the monotony of life is clearly shown in the present investigation, particularly with regard to the dreams of very poor children and those for whom life offers very little variety and opportunities for enjoy-

ment. It comes in as the Fairy Godmother and supplies to them the pleasures which the normal conditions of their lives have failed to provide. Without doubt, life would be far more wearisome without dreams, and it is contended that the non-dreamer grows old more quickly than the dreamer.

Many observers who have investigated the frequency of dreams in different classes of the community have reached the conclusion that people of well-developed intelligence dream far more than those of low culture. Agricultural labourers, ill-educated servant girls, and the lower types of criminals dream infrequently, and many have no memory of ever having had a dream. Some observers go so far as to say that, within certain limits, the frequency of dreaming among healthy people varies with the state of development of the intelligence. The character of the dream also varies in the imagery employed in its structure with the standard of intelligence of the dreamer. The dream of the university professor is very different from that of the casual labourer.

Under the general title of the kinaesthetic dream we include the great variety of falling sensations, gliding, floating in the air or water, often accompanied by loss of muscular and speech control. There are various explanations given to the cause of this type of dream, but, so far, no really satisfactory conclusion has been reached. From the present investigation it appears:

1. That children under the age of nine or ten years rarely experience it.

2. That from ten years of age it increases in frequency fairly steadily up to the age of seventeen or eighteen.
3. That well-fed children are more subject to it than those living under less favourable conditions.
4. That regular institutional life tends to diminish this type of dream very considerably.
5. That the deaf child scarcely ever has a kinaesthetic dream.
6. That children who have had influenza or any type of malady accompanied by high temperature are particularly susceptible to it.

The differences between boys and girls of different ages in connection with the frequency and type of this kind of dream are discussed later on. In the case of children up to the age of seven, practically all dream, and the dull as frequently as the clever children. At certain ages, as will be seen, children dream less frequently than at others.

In the present day an increasing and very intelligent interest is being taken in the subject of dreams, and a great desire is frequently expressed to be able to find out the meaning of the confused and mysterious tangle of a clearly remembered adventure in dreamland. This desire is further increased by a very attractive literature on modern psychology by well-known authorities which contains many references to dreams and their solution. Provided always that the dreamers are not suffering from any form of mental ailment—necessitating psychoanalytic treatment—and have a fair working knowledge

of elementary psychology, it is possible for them to get some very interesting information about the meaning of their dreams.

The competent observer appears to have little difficulty in obtaining satisfactory interpretations of his dreams without the aid of recognized experts. This is made possible by proceeding on the lines adopted by Rivers of attacking the problem *immediately after the dream* before any fusion of waking with dream material takes place. If the record of a dream made on waking is compared with that of the memory of the same dream, say ten hours afterwards, considerable differences in the records will be found. Interesting accounts of their own dream solutions are given by Havelock Ellis, *The World of Dreams*, R. F. Fortune, *The Mind in Sleep*, R. Graves, *The Meaning of Dreams*, and by P. G. Stiles, *Dreams*, Harvard University Press.

Havelock Ellis, though a collector of dreams for twenty years, has not met with any that belonged to the abnormal class. He, himself, is a normal dreamer. He does not agree with Freud that we only dream of things that are worth while, nor does he agree that the wish formula covers all dreams. He regards it as being only one type. Fortune used Rivers's method of investigating and interpreting his dreams by the free association method. In addition to his own dreams he had the evidence of thirty dreams of two children of five and six years of age. His own dreams kept within a three-years recency limit. He found that frequently in dreams an attitude of mind is put forth entirely contrary to the attitude taken by the dreamer in ordinary waking life,

as, for example, when an agnostic defends Christianity.

In connection with the nature of the dreams, Professor Piaget and his colleagues at the University of Geneva have investigated the very interesting question of the child's own conception of the dream, the value and importance of which it would not be possible to overestimate.

The terrors of the dream of the child have long puzzled the observers of very young children who, though perfectly happy in the waking state, frequently have what is known as terror dreams at night. Piaget, in his chapter on dreams in *The Child's Conception of the World*, throws a flood of light on this difficult question. From his interrogation of a large number of children it appears that the child's conception of the real nature of the dream is only reached after passing through very well-marked stages. The following statement which is the result of much questioning summarizes the position very clearly:

> "The answers obtained can be classified as belonging to three distinct stages. During the first (approximately five to six) the child believes the dream to come from outside and to take place within the room and he thus dreams with the eyes. Also, the dream is highly emotional: dreams often come 'to pay us out,' 'because we've done something we ought not to have done,' etc. During the second stage (average age seven to eight) the child supposes the source of the dream to be in the head, in

thought, in the voice, etc., but the dream is in the room, in front of him. Dreaming is with the eyes; it is looking at a picture outside. The fact that it is outside does not mean that it is true: the dream is unreal, but consists in an image existing outside, just as the image of an ogre may exist, without there being a real ogre. Finally, during the third stage (about nine to ten) the dream is the product of thought, it takes place inside the head (or in the eyes) and dreaming is by means of thought or else with the eyes used internally."

It is curious that so many of the children interviewed by Piaget and his colleagues regard the dream as a punishment. The following is fairly typical: A boy of seven years of age was asked to tell one of his dreams, and he said he had dreamed of robbers. Asked where the dream came from, he said, "From God." Questioned as to why it was that God had sent him this dream, he replied, "To pay me out because I wasn't good." Asked what he had done to have such a dream, he said, "I'd been naughty. I'd made Mother cry. I'd made her run round the table."

A very interesting dream was told by a boy of eight years of age who had voluntarily drawn a clever sketch to illustrate it. He said, "I dreamt that the devil wanted to boil me." On the left in the sketch the boy is seen in bed, in the centre is the devil, and on the right is the boy standing in his nightshirt in front of the devil, who is about to boil him. The dream is beside the bed before the eyes of the dreamer who watches it. The boy being

in his nightshirt suggests that the devil had pulled him out of bed. On being questioned he explained, "When I was in bed I was really there, and then when I was in my dream I was with the devil, and I was really there as well." This is an excellent example of a dream in the second (seven to eight) division.

There is no reason to suppose that the majority of the Swiss children's dreams are not those of a happy, joyous childhood. The more vivid dreams are naturally remembered much longer than those of the wish-fulfilment variety, the memory of which soon fades away. It is probable that many of the dreams recorded by Piaget occurred long before the children were questioned. With English children the memory of the "bogey-man" dream is naturally retained longer than those with no emotional setting.

Many experiments have, from time to time, been carried out by experienced observers in attempts to affect the nature of the dream by means of applying stimuli, such as varying lights and sounds and those associated with the presentation of olfactory and tactual material, in the immediate neighbourhood of the dreamer. A certain measure of success has been achieved in various directions, but the results have not been sufficiently definite and suitable for general application and for the adoption of any particular line of action.

Arnold-Forster, in her *Studies in Dreams*, however, describes the results of careful experiments conducted for many years. The book contains a particularly interesting foreword by Morton Prince, who evidently

regarded her contribution to dream literature of great value.

In the hypnagogic state there is, as pointed out by Jastrow and others, an abnormal sensitiveness to impressions, as has been proved by experiments with children, and here is presented the best possible means of gaining admission of either sensorial or psychic stimuli to the dream mind. In the auto-suggestion work of Coué full use was made of this method.

Arnold-Forster gives an interesting account of her own limited and partially successful experiments in dream-control, first in eliminating a certain class of dreams (bad dreams, whether of grief, evil, or fear), and, secondly, in the cultivation of the particular type of dream which she found to be most pleasurable. The formula, which she used very effectively, was "Remember this is a dream. You are to dream no longer." In this way she succeeded in switching off any unpleasant dream. She also found that she could use flying dreams, in which she cultivated a very special interest, for purposes of escape from terror dreams by flying down the staircase and then adopting normal flight, using slight movements of the feet and hands to assist in carrying out the flying scheme. In gliding dreams, however, no movements of hands or feet are necessary. Flying dreams, apparently, can be increased by meditating on flight and frequently observing the movements of birds and aeroplanes.

The flying dreams described by Arnold-Forster are of much the same order as those described by girls of about thirteen years of age in the writer's investigations. In

the description of her method of recording dreams it would appear that her plan is very like that of Rivers—working backwards and then reversing. In the process of recording, great care is taken to concentrate on the memory of the dream and not to allow any other thoughts to enter consciousness. One point mentioned is of special interest. A full record was made of a dream during the night, and in the morning—after the lapse of a few hours—her memory was a blank about the dream recorded.

In Arnold-Forster's experiments it was found that warmth and cold were the physical stimuli which had most effect upon her dreams. Warm conditions appeared to be favourable to vividness and correspondingly increased the ease of recording. The suggestion is made that temperature effects on dreams need further investigation. Just before and after sleep the sense of smell appears to be abnormally acute.

Dream-control in giving power over terror, grief, and evil elements, would greatly increase the pleasure of dream-life. In dreams there is freedom from the cares of responsibility, and this is an important element in the joys associated with dreaming. The kind of moral attitude in waking life undoubtedly influences the dream-mind. There is clearly a great field for research on the borderland state between consciousness and the dream.

CHAPTER III

THE DAY-DREAM

THE distinction between the night-dream and the day-dream is simply one of degree. In the day-dream there is also a withdrawal of the attention, more or less complete, from external sources, and there is also a greater or less degree of mental automatism. As pointed out in *The Psychology of Daydreams*, Stanley Hall and his pupils: "The daydream shades off by almost imperceptible gradations through hypnagogic states to the dreams of sleep." Stanley Hall's pupils express in a variety of ways the dangers of excessive day-dreaming as, for example, "I think it is a bad habit and I wish I could stop it. It interferes with study and makes me dissatisfied with reality." "In the daydreams you let your mind go where it wants to and this is bad, the more I daydream the harder it is to come back to reality."

There is no question as to the great pleasure to be derived from the reveries of day-dreaming. They afford great relaxation to the mind; but the servant may become the master, and mental imagery may control the mind. Day-dreaming is often associated with high intellectual endowment and creative ability. Robert Louis Stevenson in his "Chapter on Dreams" in the book of essays, *Across the Plains*, fully acknowledges the enormous advantage he derived from night- and day-dreaming, as in *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*. A long list might be given of great artists, novelists,

and scientific discoverers who have contributed similar acknowledgments. Herbert Spencer was a great day-dreamer.

Normal, healthy children day-dream, to a greater or lesser extent. As in the night-dream, there is frequently an overflow from previous experiences in which any difficulties with regard to non-fulfilment of wishes are successfully overcome. Where the day-dream finds expression in action later on it is of definite value to the child, but where it becomes an end in itself, simply for the pleasure it gives, there is a positive danger that it may unfit the boy or girl to face the ordinary difficulties of life successfully.

The lonely or neglected child or one who suffers from a fully developed inferiority-complex may find great solace in the day-dream and become increasingly out of touch with the healthy, mental, and physical activities of childhood. In many cases of ultimate imbecility the origin of the mental weakness may be traced to excessive day-dreaming.

Some children hold up to ridicule the production of absentmindedness as the result of the day-dream. Here is an essay of a young girl:

> "A girl carrying a pail of milk on her head started day-dreaming. She will buy hens with the price of the milk, and then the hens will lay eggs and produce many chickens. She will then become rich and go to a ball in a fine dress. She tossed her head as she refused charming suitors, and the pail fell off, and so ended her dream."

Many childish phantasies may be included in the category of day-dreaming. Mary Chadwick, in *Difficulties in Child Development*,[1] regards some of these as an extension of "let-us-pretend" games, which are so popular with young children. There appears, however, to be a specific purpose in every well-known phantasy. The peek-a-boo phantasy is one of the first to develop. A prominent fear of the child is that parent or nurse may be lost, but this game accustoms the child to going and returning. It reassures the child with reference to vanishing and reappearance. The threat, "If you are not good I will go away and leave you," is known by the nurse to be very effective. A child does not like shut eyes and will try to open the eyes of others. When a child's eyes are shut the parent or nurse vanishes. Peek-a-boo is a basic phantasy and has all sorts of offspring as, for example, putting in the corner with the face to the wall.

The invisible-friend phantasy is very common with children from three to six years of age. It is a great relief to have an invisible friend who is made to bear the child's own shortcomings. It is a mistake to impose authority on children at too early a stage; likewise it is a mistake for them not to indulge in make-believe, for this gives them a good opportunity of getting rid of primitive tendencies in a natural way without repression. The child is more imaginative because he has a wider range of outlook. Chadwick says that "only or lonely children will always be the greatest weavers of phantasy." The phantasy-maker must always be found

[1] George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

in the chief rôle like the dreamer. Pretending to be grown-up is generally a favourite game for the young children. In childish phantasies the king frequently represents the father and the queen the mother. Phantasies of a happy home by children who are miserable in surroundings in which practically no love exists are very common as, for example, in the Cinderella phantasy. Cases of the assumption of invalidism by children who can only in that way find love and sympathy and dominate the home are well known. The craving for sympathy and "a place in the sun" occupies a very important place in the life of a young child and gives rise to various forms of phantasy.

The boy's day-dreaming is largely concerned with great achievements in such sports as cricket, football, lawn-tennis, and boxing, generally associated with particular favourites at the time, whose popularity he, himself, rivals in his day-dreams.

In the past the day-dreaming of the girls would not appear to have centred in athletic successes, but, as will be seen in considering the night-dreams of deaf-girls, the accomplishment of daring feats in aeroplanes during the Great War were the subject of a surprising number of their dreams. The extraordinary performances of women aviators in recent years shows a far keener interest in this type of physical activity than was anticipated, and doubtless forms an important subject of much day-dreaming.

Reference has been made to the dangers of excessive day-dreaming. In this connection, as a partial solution, the remarkable success of the Boy Scout and Girl Guide

movements have given boys and girls an excellent opportunity of sublimating this evil by a spirit of fine adventure. They have converted, in numberless cases, what might otherwise have been aimless day-dreamers into children of action.

Varendonck, by his classical searches on his own day-dreams, has raised the subject which he has undertaken, *The Psychology of Day-Dreams*,[1] to a very high level. His study, although in a limited field, is, and must remain, an inspiration to all workers interested in the investigation of day-dreams. His book will also prove of great value to the student of the night-dream, for many of his conclusions, and the full statement of the methods by which they were reached, apply with equal force to the allied investigation. The close relation of the day- to the night-dream has already been considered. The egocentricity of the dreamer in both departments is well known. The matter for regret is that, in the circumstances, no reference was possible by Varendonck to the dreams of children.

Many investigations of the day-dream deal almost entirely with the psychology of the subject. Green, in his book on *The Day-Dream*, while not neglecting the psychological aspect, stresses the educational point of view and makes his investigation, as appears in the subtitle, "A Study in Development." With this more ambitious objective he achieves considerable success. In the day-dream you get a view of the real child, his main interests, and an indication of the mental make-up at different phases of his development far better than

[1] George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

can be obtained in the comparatively artificial atmosphere of the classroom. This can be shown very clearly by a statement Green makes in dealing with the "group" or "team" stage of development.

> "The occurrence of the day-dream of the 'team' at the age of ten or thereabouts and the differences which mark it off from the egoistic day-dreams of the preceding period, suggest very strongly that the age of ten marks a time of transition between, say, 'childhood' and 'boyhood' or 'girlhood,' just as the age of three appears to mark a transition between 'infancy' and 'childhood.' There is the further suggestion, also, that the type of education that is suitable for children below ten is not suited to children above ten, since the day-dreams are evidence that the developments which follow the tenth year are not merely a continuation of those of the earlier years. That there is such a transition is suggested by other evidence, such as that of the curve of physical growth."

Another reference to the same period is worthy of note:

> "The normal child of from ten to fourteen or fifteen years of age has his 'imagination' fixed upon a series of 'we will' interests. Many of those who control him wish him to set aside these and to concentrate his 'will' upon a series of 'I must' matters. Many of these latter might be translated into the 'we will' form, and the results gained a great deal more easily."

From the day-dreaming standpoint, the normal stages of development are birth to three years of age (nutrition); three to ten years of age, the development of the self-attitude; ten to fourteen years, the development of the group-attitude; and from fourteen to the end of growth, the romance period. In the writer's investigations of the night-dream, the interests which are found to dominate the different periods give considerable support to the conclusions reached in the study of the day-dream.

CHAPTER IV

THE DREAMS OF NORMAL CHILDREN

In spite of fear dreams children in normal health delight in dreaming, and it is an evident pleasure to them to talk about or record their dreams. For the young child the basis of the extraordinary fascination of the dream is unquestionably the fairy element, for a very close connection exists between the fairy story and the dream. The return to fairyland at night must be a real source of joy to the child long after he has been forced into a partial, and somewhat grudging, acceptance of the verdict of the outer world with regard to fairies. It is of the greatest interest to trace, in all stages of development, the struggle for the retention of as much as possible of the delightful fairyland existence. It is seen in the attitude to the toys of the nursery, then in the invisible friend or other childish phantasies, and later in the impossible demand for abnormal fairy qualities in animals. In all these struggles, with a continual weakening of the fairy position, there remains the compensatory nature of the dream with occasional visits to fairyland.

Girls have far more fairy dreams than boys; they are greatest at eight years of age, but the fairy element has a considerable effect on the dream during the whole of the school period. Generally these dreams are of a most pleasurable nature, but sometimes include a sad ending as in the following example:

"Last night I had a most strange dream. I dreamt that my sister gave me some money and I went to a shop and bought a chocolate nurse and took it home with me and laid it in the cupboard. When tea-time came I sat down at the table and waited to be served. Just at that moment the chocolate nurse came walking out of the cupboard and served me with my tea. I thought this very strange, but after a while I began talking to it. At night I made a little bed for it in the doll's house. Next morning she served me with my breakfast and after that I took her for a nice walk in the meadows to pick flowers. There were some cows feeding in the meadow and one of them ate poor chocolate nurse. I then woke up."

At Christmas time young children have far more remembered dreams than at any other period of the year. They start during the latter part of November and through December right up to the Christmas festival they practically dominate the field. This is especially the case with children of eight and nine years of age. The dreams are primarily of the wish-fulfilment type and are far more common in poor homes, in which Christmas is the only occasion for receiving gifts, than in those of children with wealthy parents who frequently receive them. In the child's world Christmas is a far greater festival than the birthday celebration. It is a social group function, whereas the birthday is an individual affair and is not such an occasion of general rejoicing. Another reason for its popularity is that it is

fully recognized as the children's festival. Discipline is relaxed and the child once more regains the privileges of earlier days. Dreams at this stage, however, are frequently of an exciting nature. Christmas fare is notoriously indigestible; and indigestion is a front-rank cause of night phantasies in the rôle of unusually vivid dreams, such as those recorded of the boy who was chased by a large Christmas pudding which kept prodding him with a fork, and of the girl who was pursued by a number of turkeys and geese who wanted to cook her for dinner. This curious inversion of domestic concerns is a frequent factor of children's dreams.

Mince pies—or in poorer districts cheese—eaten just before going to bed are, in the children's estimation, the most fruitful sources of exciting dreams, whereas, in order to secure good, straightforward, happy dreams, a cup of cocoa, with bread and butter for supper, is strongly recommended and generally produces the desired result. There is also a very definite opinion among children that for happy dreaming it is wise to sleep on your right side.

As a fairly good example of a Christmas dream the following may be quoted:

> "I dreamt that my mother bought me and my sister a large Christmas-tree, and on this tree there was a number of tiny little candles which were of different colours, and there was a lot of toys hanging on it. Mother had a wishbone which she had kept, and she said we could see who got the wish,

and so we pulled and I had the wish. I wished that my dad would be home on Christmas Day. When Christmas Day came we were dressed in our best, and our uncles and aunts had come and we were enjoying ourselves. We went into the parlour and we found somebody dressed up as Santa Claus, and he asked us what we wanted off the tree. When we had got what we wanted he took off the clothes of Santa Claus and it was my father, and so my wish came true, and then I woke up and told mother."

The influence of environment on the dream is very great. The atmosphere of the home; the normal attitude to life of the family group into which the child is born such as the political and religious views of the parents, must have a considerable effect on the dreams of the child. His physical and mental equipment must also make their contribution to the nature of the dream. There is general agreement that the stimulus of the dream at night has some relation to a particular experience of the day before. The type of stimulus of a healthy child in a happy home will probably be very different from that of one in less favourable surroundings, and the nature of the material on which the stimulus will work in the production of the dream will also be affected by the type of environment. In the writer's collection of dreams of boys and girls segregated in institutions for some years with the same kind of daily routine and with the same type of companion and experience, there was a remarkable similarity in the

kind of dream. They were extremely interesting, as will be seen later on, but they lacked that variety of type which characterizes the dreams of children living under other, and more varied, conditions.

The fears which injuriously affect the dreams of children depend very largely on popular beliefs current in the home and the literature available for the child. At one time the ghost held a very important place in the child's fear-dreams. Ghost stories were as widely read as fairy tales to-day, and terrorized the child in his dreams. The attitude changed however, the popularity of ghost literature waned, and the passing of the ghost from the dreams was the result. The successor of the ghost is the bogey-man, who is an object of terror in a surprisingly large number of records of children's dreams. Many of these childish fears have been traced to the influence of illiterate nursemaids and servants who threaten the nervous and naughty child that unless he is good the bogey-man will catch him. It is more difficult to trace the source of another very common fear of young children—the wild animal terror-dream. It is undoubtedly the result of the child's environment, and possibly injudicious picture-books of ferocious lions and tigers may play their part in producing an injurious effect. After reaching the age of nine years the child rarely suffers from animal fear-dreams.

Under certain abnormal conditions of environment there is a tendency for the dreams of adults to revert to those of a more infantile type. From the records of the dreams of Arctic explorers it appears that when there was an acute shortage of food, tobacco, and other

adjuncts to a pleasurable existence, simple wish-fulfilment dreams of a primitive character replaced the normal type of adult dream. An interesting example occurred to show the effect of environment in a lesser degree. During a long sea voyage in which many learned men and women were journeying to a distant shore for the purpose of attending a scientific congress, the complete change of environment somewhat modified the normal outlook on life. Those who had fortunately retained something of the spirit of the child, which had found little chance of expression in the lecture room and laboratory, threw themselves heart and soul into the joyous experiences of deck sports. Triumphs in deck-tennis, shuffle-board, bull-board, and even success in throwing quoits into a bucket, caused great interest and excitement. This reversion to the pleasurable round of activities of early childhood appeared to a slight extent to affect the type of dream.

In keeping a continuous record of one's own dreams for a long period the effect of physical changes in the environment can be clearly indicated though the result may be largely a personal matter. In the writer's experience the following points were well marked:

1. A change of residence, before becoming acclimatized to the new conditions, added materially to the frequency of dreaming.
2. Dreams in a quiet room in the country were much clearer and more vivid than those in London, with the noise of the streets in evidence during the greater part of the night.

3. Hard mental work up to the time of going to bed seriously increased the tendency to dream.
4. Sleeping in a badly ventilated room appeared to increase the frequency, but to diminish the clearness of the dreams.
5. A large amount of physical exercise during the day generally resulted in a dreamless night.

It has been pointed out that the state of culture of the dreamer affects materially the nature of the dream. The following is an interesting example of this:

In a collection of the records of dreams of a large group of Maori children of ten to fourteen years of age, received from a school in a country district in New Zealand, the dreams were of a very different character from those of ordinary English schoolchildren. Most of them were fear dreams of a primitive type in which ghosts, bulls, tigers, whales, and sharks predominated. Some of them were ridiculous as, for example, that of a Maori girl of ten years of age who in her dream sees a ghost who telephones to her from a neighbouring hillock. The pleasure dreams are of an infantile nature and refer to school experiences, boating excursions, and swimming. It is very significant that the ghost who has almost entirely disappeared from the night terrors of the English child still holds an important position in the dream of the Maori child.

In studying children's dreams it is necessary to confine oneself simply to the actual report as recorded. We must not go outside the ordinary meaning of the story although there is frequently a temptation to do so in

order to reach a satisfactory conclusion. In some dreams it is evident that there is a clearing up of difficulties which exist in waking life. Thus, before coming to important decisions, we like to "sleep over it." As we have seen, where there are two or three dreams in the same night they are found on examination to have a common origin.

The mentality of the dream is generally more infantile or primitive than the mentality of waking life. Dreams are far more imaginal and dramatic than ordinary thinking. The emotions are the prime movers in dream situations. It has often been said that in dreams we take our images as perceptual realities because we have none of these latter for comparison. In other words, the absence of causality is the reason why we are not surprised in dreams. Conscious thought and logic are absent and therefore astonishment is not possible because we have no means of comparison with reality. Our dreams bear witness to the fact that our intelligence is often but a tool in the hands of our emotions. Dreams are mainly made up of visual images and practically all of them are moving pictures. We dream of a storm and we see the lightning, but rarely hear the thunder.

Many claims have been made that in our dreams we can look into the future, and various experiences have been quoted of the fulfilment of prophetic dreams in very intimate details. Investigation, however, into such cases have not been in any way conclusive in support of such claims. To be of value the dream must have been described in adequate detail to an independent observer before the event, to which the dream relates, takes place.

A very remarkable book in this connection has, however, been written by J. W. Dunne, entitled *An Experiment with Time*. Mr. H. G. Wells regards it as a fantastically interesting book and thinks that not nearly enough attention has yet been given to it. This opinion is certainly justified; for if the claims can be in any way sustained it marks a revolution in our views of the relation of the present to the future. The writer is a scientist of considerable distinction and has a background of knowledge of physical science which enables him to speak with great authority on the subject.

An interesting subject in the study of dreams is the investigation along the lines of Mrs. Arnold-Forster's experiments, to which reference has been made, as to the extent to which it is possible to influence by changes in the environment the nature of our dreams. Very little progress has been made. Several observers have claimed interesting results from the application of hot-water bottles to the feet and the effect such action has had on the experiences of dreamers.

A case is quoted by many writers of an experiment with odours in the grouping of dream-images. The following is a brief account of the experiments: The subject had during a certain period of his existence always used the same perfume; then changing his whole surroundings and mode of life, for a long time he used another perfume and left the first always unopened. If during this period he was without dreams of this early period he would hand over the early perfume to his servant, telling him on some following morning when he found him asleep to moisten the corner of the

pillow, taking care at the same time not to awake him. Every time this was done the sleeper dreamed of those past conditions of life during which he had used that perfume. This observation is of value as showing the possibility of provoking at will groups of dream-images. In connection with this result there is, of course, a general tendency in dreaming to revert to infantile experiences.

CHAPTER V

THE DREAMS OF CHILDREN OF FIVE, SIX, AND SEVEN YEARS OF AGE

It is difficult to get reliable records of the dreams of children of five to seven years of age, although they delight in talking about them. Written accounts are naturally impossible, and each dream must be told to a trustworthy observer, who is on sufficiently intimate and sympathetic terms with the child to secure anything in the nature of a truthful and reliable record. Moreover, the period is one in which the formation of such childish phantasies as the unseen friend and like creations is very common, and it is difficult in the child's mind to separate the day-dream from the night-dream. Added to this there is, as will be seen, the further difficulty of preventing in the records the fusion of the dream and the waking material.

With proper safeguards, however, it is possible to get a fairly reliable account of the general nature of dreams, at different ages, of even very young children. Such evidence as may be made available in this connection is of considerable value not only in indicating something of the mental development of the child, but also of the effect of varying environments on the nature of the dream. So much attention is now, fortunately, being concentrated on the mental and physical elements in the early years of child life that the contribution of any

evidence regarding the dream state at this stage should be taken into careful consideration.

Many of the children's dreams are worthy of further investigation, as they obviously contain matter which requires elucidation and which might be cleared up by a friendly discussion on the lines so successfully adopted by Piaget and his followers. The "broken cup" dream in the series is an excellent case in point.

There has been a remarkable development in recent years of children's clinics, frequently with an efficient staff on the psychological side. Full advantage should be taken of these clinics in dealing with any problems that may arise in connection with children's dreams.

The switching off from one attitude of mind to another, in an inconsequent manner, which will be seen frequently in the dreams of older children, finds expression also at this early stage. A boy continues his dream after having been killed, and a girl makes friends, and receives presents from burglars who have broken into the home. In many cases the dream is so vivid and appears so real that children search in their beds for presents given to them in their dreams. The time of the full recognition of the dream as a thing apart —as it appears in this investigation—fully confirms the findings recorded by Piaget in *The Child's Conception of the World.*

In the infants' schools, apart from a few written records by clever children of seven years of age, the dreams were told to the headmistress individually, and not in the presence of other children, to avoid all possibility of suggestion.

In dealing with the dreams of very young children, both in spoken and written records, there are many difficulties which must be borne in mind in estimating the value of the results. The more important of these are:

1. That young children have great difficulty in separating the dreaming from the waking element.
2. That their powers of description are naturally very limited, and that their use of words may convey to the adult mind a very different impression from that which they wish to convey.
3. That the child will inevitably fill up gaps in the dream, and will reject as absurd some items in the dream which are contrary to his own experience.
4. A dream described even a few hours after awaking is a very different record from that obtained directly the child awakes, in consequence of the fusion of the dream material with waking thoughts.

Anything, therefore, in the nature of a full analysis of a young child's dream would be valueless. All that can be done is to classify the dream elements into definite groups.

In the dream records there are to be found a considerable variety of fulfilled wishes. With the five-year-old children, due to the time of their recording, about 15 per cent were prospective dreams of Christmas with Santa Claus and his presents. The decoration of the classrooms for Christmas festivities gave a great stimulus

to this type of dream. With very young children the fear dream is unduly prominent. In this investigation no less than 25 per cent were of this nature. Wild animals and old men who run after the children (the "bogey" man) figure prominently. At seven years of age children, both boys and girls, dream more about burglars than at any other age. The fear dream of animals is, curiously enough, far more common among the boys than the girls.

School activities are rarely mentioned in the records of the dreams. In the infants' school only about 1 per cent of the dreams are of this type. At these ages fairy-story dreams are common with girls, but are not so frequently experienced by boys. The effect of the cinema is felt very little in the girls' dreams, but in the boys', especially at the age of seven, it is an important factor. It is significant that infant school children dream far less about food than the children in the senior departments.

Some of the more interesting facts which emerge from the consideration of the dreams of these young children are the following:

1. The passing of the ghost and the coming of the fairy. The ghost, which was in the days gone by the terror of the dreaming child, has almost entirely disappeared. The fairy dream is generally one of pure enjoyment, the only objectionable feature is the appearance of the witch, which, however, is a comparatively rare occurrence.
2. At five years of age the child is the centre of the

dream and is rarely a passive observer. Family relationships are not fully realized. There are many incongruities which will be seen in the following dreams:

(*a*) "A burglar came into my house and stole Mother's money. He stuck a knife into me, and I dreamt that he had shot another boy after he had killed me."

(*b*) "A tiger came to our house and ate Mummy and Daddy and my brother and me and then I woke up and cried and said, 'It isn't true.' "

(*c*) "I dreamt that teacher was married in a church, and the church had flowers all over, and the gas was alight. Teacher went into a motor-car and had a nice tea party."

(*d*) After a visit of the King and Queen to her neighbourhood, a girl of five dreamed that "a lady was sitting on my bed, and the King and Queen were under the bed eating bread and butter and a lot of ladies were with them."

(*e*) "I dreamt that a robber came to our house and broke all the cups."

This dream had an interesting sequel. On investigation it was found that this boy had broken a cup and was in constant fear that his mother would find it out. If the robber broke the cups it would never be known that he had broken one; so that the boy's dream was clearly a wish-fulfilment.

3. At the age of five, the experiences of conscious life

carry over into the unconscious. The child mixes up the dreaming with the waking elements.

4. At the age of seven there is a great advance. The family relationship is fully realized and members of the family group take part in the dream. The child is not so much the central figure. At this age he recognizes the dream phenomenon as a thing apart. There is also less confusion between the dreaming and the waking experiences, and the record of the dream becomes much more valuable.

A few examples of the dreams of children of this age will illustrate this:

(*a*) "The sun and moon were on the floor in my room, so that I could not walk about, and so I went to heaven where all the lights were up, and there were many colours."

(*b*) "I dreamt a dustman put me in a box and took me in a cart, and brought me back to the wrong bed, but when I woke up, I was in the right bed."

(*c*) "I dreamt there were burglars in the room and they lit the fire and sat in a chair, and got green curtains by the door. There were flowers in the next-door garden; the burglars took them and they gave me two stamps and a sheet of paper."

(*d*) "I went to my aunty's and she gave me some biscuits; we had a tea party and a soldier on crutches came in and he said to my aunty, 'Have a waltz.' "

5. The dream appears to vary with the sex, temperament, and health of the child. A careful record of the dreams of children, especially those of a neurotic type, throughout the year, would be very valuable.
6. Children in poor districts dream far more about toys than do those in the well-to-do sections.
7. There appears to be no connection of the amount of dreaming with intelligence, though this appears later. Dull children dream quite as much as bright children.
8. The dreams of young children are vivid and very real. A boy of six dreamed that someone had given him a threepenny piece, and on waking, searched the bed for it.
9. The death element comes into the dreams of delicate, neurotic children, but rarely into those of healthy, normal children.
10. The rare dreams of school activities are generally associated with the playground rather than the classroom.
11. Dreams of bravery and adventure, which are common in the senior school, rarely come into the dreams of the children in the infants' school. Here is an exception: A boy of seven dreamed:

> "I was an American soldier, and I had an army of soldiers, and we went into Germany and we captured the Kaiser and Little Willie."

12. Young children sometimes imagine that they take other forms; for example, a nervous boy of

five, whose father was a baker, had two dreams of this character:

(*a*) "I was in a loaf of bread, and a German cut it into little bits, and saw me; I flew away—I had wings on me."

(*b*) "I was in a kettle and I drank up all the water. Mother could not find me; I went under the gaspipes."

One boy of five dreamed that he was a little girl; another of the same age, that he was a horse.

13. Kinaesthetic elements are uncommon in the dreams of very young children. They appear generally at about ten years of age and become very vivid and frequent at the ages of eleven and twelve.

Young children's dreams are much simpler than those of adults, even when full allowance has been made for the inevitable simplification produced in the course of the child's narrative by the limitation of vocabulary and descriptive accuracy. They are not so clearly marked off by an atmosphere of unreality, and, moreover, they are not infrequently reported as actual occurrences.

According to Freud, as has been pointed out, the unfulfilled wishes of the day preceding are insufficient to produce a dream in adults. In young children, on the other hand, the dream is often much concerned with the events of yesterday. Retrospective dreams, however, in which the dreamer goes back to an earlier stage of his existence, are far more common in the dreams of

adolescents and adults. The dreams in the infants' schools having been collected at the end of November and during December accounts for so many prospective dreams of Christmas. In their dreams the actual presents are described in detail. The doll with the inevitable doll's pram bulks largely in the young girl's dream. Even up to the age of nine years the wish for the "pram" is definitely mentioned with the doll in 90 per cent of the dreams of this type.

The fact that very young children dream far less about food than the older children indicates that they are the last to suffer in the case of food shortage in the home. The dream is a sure indication of the position of the child in this respect, as is clearly shown by a comparison of the proportion of food dreams among children in poor and well-to-do districts. The child who dreams frequently about food may reasonably be assumed to be an underfed child. A striking case is recorded of the value of the dream in this connection. A well-known investigator was carrying on a research on the physiological effects of a short period of starvation. He remained without food for six days, and after the first day was not conscious of any personal inconvenience, but every night he dreamed of having hearty meals, though he had never experienced this type of dream before. On resuming his normal life the food dreams ceased.

The association of the disappearance of the ghost with the advent of the fairy story is supported by evidence of the dreams of older children. There is a tendency for the ghost to reappear when the interest

in the fairy story ceases, and it is much more common in boys' than in girls' dreams. Other reasons for the disappearance are the general decline of a belief in ghosts and the decrease in the amount of ghost-story literature.

The state of health of the child has an important influence on the dream. During any complaint which involves the raising of the normal temperature, dreams become much more frequent, there being often three or four in one night. The dream alters in type, and becomes increasingly vivid, and not infrequently the death element enters. The dream now conforms more closely to the neurotic type, but becomes normal again on the child's restoration to health.

In the infants' school the careful study of dreams may yield very valuable results in giving additional information as to the actual normal temperament of the child, its unfulfilled wishes, its state of health, and in children of the neurotic type it may give important clues to the basis of the mental instability. With monthly records extending over a year, the persistent elements in the dream could be separated from the waking elements, and this would give a valuable insight into the mental make-up of the child.

CHAPTER VI

DREAMS OF CHILDREN OF EIGHT TO FOURTEEN YEARS OF AGE

THE large number of children in the London elementary schools available for obtaining dreams makes the results far more reliable than those of the special schools, such as those for the blind and deaf, where much less material could be secured for the investigation. In selecting schools for the experiment, care was taken that they should be representative of the poorer as well as the districts in which the children came from fairly well-to-do homes. Comparatively few of the children under the age of fourteen came from secondary schools. In discussing rather fully the different points which emerged from the investigation, it will be noticed that many matters require much more detailed examination than was possible in the rough analysis of such a large mass of material.

The number of clearly expressed fulfilled wishes differs considerably in boys' and girls' dreams, the percentage varying from about twenty-eight in the case of boys to forty-two in the case of girls. The nature of the wishes also varies. The girl dreams far more about the return of father and relatives from the war, about presents of various kinds, about eating, and, above all, about visits to the country, travelling, and entertainments. On the other hand, boys have six times as many dreams about bravery and adventure as the girls,

and these might reasonably be included among the wish-fulfilment dreams. At the age of thirteen, there is a marked increase in this type of dream among the girls.

The eating element in dreams falls off after the age of ten, and presents, other than food, decrease after this age, whereas the dreams of visits to the country tend to increase. Dreams of presents and eating, at all ages from nine to fourteen, are much more common with children from the poorer than from those in the more well-to-do districts.

Boys have more fear dreams (19 per cent) than girls (16 per cent). The most marked difference is in the fear of burglars and robbers, which appears twice as often in boys' as in girls' dreams. Girls dream rather more of strange men and women than boys, but the difference is not marked. It is the old man who is the terror of the young dreaming boy and girl. He is responsible in both cases for about half the fear dreams. The fear of animals is practically the same in both sexes and is the cause of about 20 per cent of fear dreams. The larger animals, for example, lions, tigers, and bulls, predominate in boys', and dogs, rats, mice, and snakes, in girls' dreams. The ghost has practically disappeared from the child's dream, but occurs occasionally when the fairy-story dream begins to wane. It is more common in boys' than in girls' dreams. Dreams of the house being on fire affect the boy equally with the girl; rather less than 10 per cent of fear dreams are of this nature.

Among kinaesthetic dreams are included falling dreams, loss of muscular control in movement and speech, and dreams in which excessive movement is the

predominating element. Dreams of this type occur only occasionally among children of eight and nine years of age, and at these ages much more frequently among boys than girls. It is at the age of ten that they form an important element in children's dreams, and from that age to fourteen they increase steadily. Boys have more kinaesthetic dreams than girls, the proportion being ten to seven. The gliding, floating, and swimming elements are more common among girls, and the falling element among boys. The unmistakable appearance of this type of dream as an important factor at the age of ten deserves full investigation. It would appear, from the analysis of dream elements, that the well-to-do child is more subject to this kind of dream than the poorer child.

Although the normal child spends nearly half the day in, or associated with, the school, it is remarkable that so few dreams have any direct reference to the school; and, where this is the case, the reference is rather to the activities of the playground and swimming bath than to those of the classroom. The girls' dreams are more influenced by school activities than the boys', but the number is almost negligible. There is not the slightest evidence of worry or overstrain in this connection even in the classroom dream. Rehearsals and performances of plays are occasional elements in dreams, and the striking success of the dreamer in his or her part is not infrequently a source of gratification. Indirectly the school has a great influence on the dream. The fairy story has a very marked effect. The teacher, moreover, especially in girls' dreams, figures very pro-

minently in dreams of many out-of-school experiences.

Some of the accounts of the dreams were written six months after the last air raid was experienced in London. It is interesting to observe that, especially among the children of eight and nine years of age, the memory of the air raid had practically ceased to trouble the dreamer. Among the older children dreams of raids, especially girls' dreams, appear to be more in evidence, but they are generally vivid dreams, not of recent date.

In references to bravery and adventure there is a very marked difference between boys' and girls' dreams. The war had a much greater effect on the boys than on the girls. Even at the age of eight boys dream of performing heroic deeds; at nine years of age the number of dreams containing these elements increases, and continues to increase to the end of the elementary-school period. A large proportion of the dream elements of the boy are of this nature. The dreamers are often mentioned in dispatches, win the Victoria Cross, are personally thanked by the King, and on returning home from the war are cheered by grateful crowds. Girls' dreams of bravery and adventure do not occur before the age of ten, and the number of such dreams is insignificant until the age of thirteen, when there is a decided change, and deeds of valour, generally as Red Cross nurses on the battlefield, are not infrequent. The total number of boys' dreams involving deeds of valour, compared with girls, is as six to one.

Whatever may be the indirect influence of the cinema on the dreaming child, only a relatively small number of dreams appear to be directly affected, and this occurs

chiefly among the older boys. The number of girls' dreams directly influenced is insignificant. The book read just before going to bed affects the dreamer and is often referred to by an explanatory note following the record of a strange dream, in which the child takes the part of one of the leading characters. Similar explanations are also sometimes given of what are evidently cinema dreams.

The influence of fairy stories on the dreamer, especially the girl dreamer, is very marked. Greatest at eight years of age, it has a considerable effect throughout the school period. Generally, the dream of this type is of the most pleasurable nature. The number of girls' dreams influenced by fairy stories is four times as great as in the case of boys. Above the age of ten the fairy story ceases to have much effect on the boys' dreams.

Definitely recorded conversations are common in children's dreams, and they are rather more frequent in girls' than in boys' dreams. At eight years of age they are comparatively rare, and at ten reach the maximum; then, in boys' dreams they decrease in number at subsequent ages, whereas among girls the maximum is reached at the same age, but the proportion is practically retained until the end of the school period.

Dreams in which the interest centres around the death of the dreamer or of some friend are not uncommon, even among children of eight years of age. Rarely the older child dreams that he is present as a spectator at his own funeral and describes the scene.

In the dream of the very young child, the dreamer is generally the only witness of the dream; later, the

mother is often present, and at eight or nine years of age, other members of the family and sometimes schoolmates take part. At ten and eleven years of age the boy's chum and the particular friend of the girl, practically always of the same sex as the dreamer, tend to replace members of the family group; and at subsequent ages the dreamer alone, or the dreamer and friend, are generally the central figures. The proportion of dreams in which the friend or friends of the dreamer take an active part is fairly constant, both in boys' and girls' dreams, throughout the school period.

Anything in the nature of sentiment between members of the opposite sex is very rarely found in the dreams of children from eight to fourteen years of age, but it is more common in girls' than in boys' dreams.

From such a large number of dreams it is very difficult to make a selection to illustrate even a small number of the many points which have arisen during the course of the investigation.

Two examples are given of dreams of children of eight years of age, one of a boy of imaginative type and the other of a girl whose dream is based upon an air-raid experience. The mothering attitude of young girls in looking after brothers and sisters in times of danger finds expression in this record.

(*a*) "I cannot tell you my dream last night, but I can tell you my other dream the night before. I dreamt that I was going to be washed. After I was washed, I was wrung out in the mangle. Then I was hung on the line. I was hanging on

the line when it started to rain. My mother took me in and ironed me. The iron was hot. And then I woke up."

(*b*) "I dreamt I was married and had a little girl at school, also I had a little baby. My husband was a soldier in France. My girl had long curly hair. She wore a white frock with a blue sash and white shoes and stockings. But one night as I got into bed I heard the maroons go off. My children were fast asleep, so I got the eldest up first. I dressed them, and put their hats and coats on and then dressed myself. Then I ran down the tube. A little while after I heard it was all clear, and when I got home I had just put my children to bed, when I heard a rat-tat. I went and opened the door, and my husband walked in. He was home on leave. He was an officer. I was a school teacher. I had the first class. When I woke up, I found it was only a dream."

The following dream of bravery and adventure, of a girl of thirteen years of age who was interested in the Fulham election, is typical of the bellicose attitude at this age.

"I dreamt I was elected M.P. for Fulham. Lloyd George decided to send me out to Germany to try and persuade the Kaiser to give up fighting. I do not know how I got to Germany. I was suddenly there. The Kaiser took a fancy to me, and I lived at his palace and was educated with his children.

There were four girls and three boys, and they all were dressed in brown holland. There were two other children living with us, a small French boy and an English girl. One day the Kaiser took us for a drive in his motor, and as we were going up a very steep hill I asked the Kaiser to give up fighting. He was so amazed that he let go of the steering-wheel, and the car slid backwards down the hill and shot us through the palace windows into the dancing-hall, where the dancing-mistress was waiting to give a lesson. Presently the Kaiser called us and told us that he must fly to Holland and that the German fleet was going to surrender. I then escaped in a submarine, and woke up when it bumped against the shores of England."

At the period of twelve to fifteen years of age children frequently have death dreams. Here is one of a girl of thirteen which is fairly typical:

"Last night I had a most peculiar dream, part of which I cannot recall. At first I saw my brother in naval uniform on a ship. I then saw my mother crying, and then I seemed to be gazing into nothingness. Previous to this period I was standing beside my teacher having my sums marked. Again I saw my brother, then slowly he faded away, and all seemed in a confusion. Gradually my mother came into sight, and then a military funeral. The coffin which I dreamt bore my brother was covered with a Union Jack and crowned with flowers. This was

not all; beside me in full uniform stood my brother, who was viewing his own funeral. Then came the conclusion, I saw my mother weeping, then everything faded away, and, when I awoke, I discovered that my pillow was wet with tears."

Rivers, in *Conflict and Dream*, makes special reference to the nightmare:

> "There is little doubt that infancy and childhood form a period of life in which the human being is liable to affective disturbances of a very intense kind with the crude explosive nature which is characteristic of the nightmare."

It appears from the writer's investigation that children of twelve to fifteen years of age when suffering from influenza, or any illness involving a high temperature, are specially liable to this pathological type of dream.

The following is a particularly interesting dream, or rather series of three dreams, which were dreamed in the same night by a girl of twelve years of age. In each part the kinaesthetic element predominates. The rapid transition from one type of experience to another is very striking and assumes rather the form of a continuous nightmare than a normal dream. For convenience, it is divided into three sections.

Section 1. "At the beginning I found myself in the house next door, with a lot of horrid men running after me, and when they caught me they

said they were going to kill me, so I was put out between two lions and in ten minutes a huge wave was coming up the road and it came right over me. Then I heard some clapping and I had just finished singing a song before all the school."

Section 2. "I was in my own bedroom and there was a lion under my bed and in the cupboard was a terrible ghost. I heard him walking about and then he came out and ran after me and I was on a bicycle riding round the bed with the ghost after me. All at once I jumped out of the window with a great scream, then I woke up and found myself on the floor.

Section 3. "I went to sleep again and dreamt that Mother and Father had turned into cabbages and I was getting them ready for dinner, but just as I was putting them into the saucepan they turned into people again, and asked me if I liked the aeroplane which we were in, and then I found myself in a Handley-Page. I was driving it when all of a sudden it vanished and I was swimming in the sea. When I woke up I was sitting up in bed, and it was morning, so I did not dream any more that night."

Girls of twelve and thirteen dream much about religion, and there were several interesting dreams of heaven. Even in these there is a curious, almost ludicrous, admixture of everyday experiences.

One girl, after describing the scene, adds: "Much information was given to us (girl and friend) by a nice

gentleman who, I presume, was a cherub. In appearance he strongly reminded me of our school caretaker." Another, after describing the kindness of the angels to herself and her friend, concludes: "We had tea with them and they afterwards kindly assisted us in the washing-up."

At eleven years of age there are many cases of people changing into animals and vice versa. The headmistress becomes a horse, an old man becomes a mauve cow with green eyes, the brother of a girl of this age changes into a dog, goes to school as usual, and she rides home on his back. Rapid alterations in the size of objects in dreams appears to occur more frequently at the ages of thirteen and fourteen than at others.

In addition to the typical dreams already mentioned it is very interesting to see the changes which take place in the dreams of children by the consideration of a further selected series arranged in chronological order showing the development of the dream in different phases of the more important subjects which enter into dreamland experiences from eight to fourteen years of age. All the dreams referred to are the written records of elementary school children. Those from children in secondary schools will be dealt with in the next chapter.

The following dreams of two girls of eight years of age are fairly representative. The first is an ordinary domestic dream and the other is an excellent fairy story. In both, eating occupies a prominent position, and conversations take place which is comparatively rare in the dreams of eight-year-old children:

"On last Friday I dreamt I was out in a wood with some other girls. As we were in the wood we heard the robin as he hopped from branch to branch singing and chirping all the time. We went on till one of them said there's a wood-nut tree. Come and look for nuts. So then away we ran to pick up the nuts which had fallen down. I thought I had filled up all my pockets with them. Soon we were getting tired, so we had a nice meal of tomato sandwiches and then a glass of lemonade to cool us. Of course we kept picking flowers. The air seemed sweet, the white and blue sky was above us, and birds singing up in the trees, and everything seemed bright and happy. In the morning I felt disappointed about the nuts, and I wish this dream was at day time instead of night time, then I should enjoy it much better."

"Last night I dreamt that I was in fairyland, and that I had beautiful little fairies to wait upon me. One day a little fairy said to me, 'Would you like to come into the wood with us?' and so I said 'Yes.' So we went into the wood, and we saw lots of rabbits running about. Presently the fairies thought it was time to go home, so we went home and had tea. For tea we had ice cakes and cream. Then we went out and had some moonbeam slides like all fairies like to do. Soon after we went home to bed. Now our beds were not made of iron, they were made of moss with rose petals for pillows and fern leaves for a cover. Just as I was going to sleep, I awoke."

Children of nine years of age frequently have fear dreams of a somewhat neurotic type. The following example of that of a girl of this age is not an unusual type:

> "The dream I dreamt last night was impossible. I was going in the grocer's when I noticed that the owner of the shop instead of sprinkling sawdust on the floor he sprinkled sugar, and of course I trod on it. Then he sent for the policeman, and told him that I had trodden on his precious sugar, and then I was taken to the police station. The next day I was to have my trial. When I was in the court, I was very frightened. Much to my sorrow, my sentence was that I should be hung in three days. On the fourth day, I was very sad because this was my last hour. Presently, I heard soldiers unlocking the door of my cell. Then sadly I walked to the scaffold. But directly my feet touched the scaffold I awoke."

The dreams of bravery and adventure of two boys of ten years of age are very interesting. The first is very like that of many American children who in dreams of bravery, and saving the lives of others, generally find that those who have been rescued are children of very wealthy people from whom the dreamers receive appropriate rewards. The other is an ordinary war dream; many of the dreams were recorded shortly after the Great War:

> "I dreamt I was out for a walk in Hyde Park,

and as I was walking down the Row I saw a man walking across it, while a horse thundered down upon him. At once I could see that the poor man was blind, so I did not hesitate, but rushed out under the rails to try and save the man. Acting under the impulse of the moment, I shouted to the rider of the horse, who tried in vain to stop the animal, which still rushed on, so I caught hold of the blind man and dragged him to safety. How surprised I was, when I found I had saved one of the millionaires. He overwhelmed me with thanks and invited me to dinner next day, where his wife and children nearly smothered me with thanks. After dinner was over, and we had a little chat, it was time for me to go, he gave me an envelope which he told me not to open till I got home. When I was alone, I opened it, and found a cheque for a million pounds inside. So ended my dream, which unfortunately was not true, for I heard the alarm clock ringing, so I knew that it was a dream. But after all it had a happy ending, which some dreams have not, but mine had."

"I dreamt that I was a soldier, and as I was in a trench a lot of Huns jumped in and took me prisoner. I was taken to a castle, and as I was in a dungeon the Kaiser and his son William went past the door. I escaped, and searched about till I found a room. I looked in and saw the Kaiser talking to Hindenburg, I crept in and wrote down all they said, and as a German soldier went past, I jumped on him and killed him, and took his bayonet and

crept back. Hindenburg was not there, so I jumped on the Kaiser and killed him with the bayonet. Just as I was creeping out I woke up on the floor."

The following fear dream of a boy of eleven years of age is of peculiar interest. It is totally unlike the record of a girl's fear dream. The basis of the fear and the manner of its description are on an entirely different plane.

"I dreamt that I was lost in one of the busy parts of London. I was walking towards a policeman to inquire of my whereabouts, when I became suddenly surrounded by vehicles of all sorts. By dodging between them I at last reached the policeman who told me I was in Fleet Street. The rolls of paper which I saw afterwards, confirmed his statement. I went into a tube station, and asked the booking-clerk if there were trains to Kennington, as I had enough money for the fare. The booking-clerk answered in the affirmative, and I travelled as far as the Oval by train and walked the rest of the way home. I then awoke."

When the age of twelve is reached there is a marked improvement in the power of recording the material of which the dream is constituted. In the earlier records there is a tendency for the child to make a readable, connected account of the dream by filling up the natural gaps of the dream for this purpose. At the age of twelve, however, we get much more detailed descrip-

tions and the switching off of one line of thought to another which adds greatly to the interest and value of the dream. The following records by boys of twelve years of age are excellent illustrations of this improvement. Two of the dreams are of the kinaesthetic variety and the other is that of a prospective dream of Christmas.

> "I was fishing by a river in the country when I saw a young boy fall in the river. Although I could not swim, I jumped in after him. It was rather deep, but somehow I reached the boy. After having reached the boy, everything seemed to fade away. But strange to say, the next instant I found myself on a swift-travelling boat, and by my side was the boy I had rescued. Somehow I found out that I was on a fire-boat. The thing that pleased me most was that the boat was going to a fire. Then I saw that the boat was going to my own house. Oh! how frightened I felt. Then, all of a sudden, I seemed to be in my bed, shouting out 'Grandad! the bed's on fire!' Next I seemed to be first burning hot and then ever so cold. Then, in through my window a spurt of water from the hose came all over me. Once more I seemed not to be in bed, but on the fire-boat, and in my hands was a hose. There I stood, squirting water into my own bedroom. Then all seemed to get muddled up, and I awoke to see the rain coming in the window, and on to me. Somehow I felt glad that that dream was over, and somehow I seemed to enjoy it."

"One night I went to bed very late, and I had a nice dream. I dreamt I was flying along the sky with some birds and we flew on a mountain top. On the top of the mountain was a big nest as big as a haystack, there were other younger birds in the nest, and they were pleased to see me. The next morning I had a good breakfast of boiled eggs and mutton, after breakfast, all the little birds flew on another mountain top which afterwards they told me was their school. Then they came back with two fat calves and a basket of eggs which they robbed. The mother bird cooked some eggs for me and fried some meat, which I enjoyed. After dinner we slept. I was soon awake at teatime, but instead of tea I had milk, but the birds had water. Then the mother bird took me to a little room where there was a cosy bed. I was soon asleep, but I was awakened by my mother, who said it was time to get up."

"Yesterday while I was sleeping in bed, I suddenly found that I was walking down the stairs of my house into the kitchen. I walked slowly into the kitchen, where to my surprise, I saw a large table covered with delicious eatables, such as Christmas pudding and turkey and meat. I went upstairs and in my bedroom instead of a bed there stood another large table covered with a snow-white cloth, and in the centre was a pudding with holly stuck in it. I went to cut a piece off for myself, and to my disappointment I found it had vanished, so I had to go without. Many children sat round

the table and of course everyone wanted something to eat. Soon as they had finished one pudding I gave them another. All the walls were hung with holly and Christmas chains. All the children were enjoying themselves very much, all except me, who was not having anything to eat. I tried to take something off the dishes, but everything disappeared from my sight. I went downstairs to find my mother, but she was nowhere to be found. I searched everywhere, but I could not find her. I suddenly slipped over a piece of orange peel and bumped my head against a table and then I woke up to find I had been dreaming in bed all the time, which made me very disappointed."

At the age of twelve many dreams are recorded in which, apart from the normal visual appearances, conversations take place. Here is a dream of this nature of a twelve-year-old girl:

"On Sunday night I dreamt that I was walking through a thick forest, whereupon I met a lion who looked very fierce. He was very faithful to me, he licked me and made such a fuss of me that I did not feel frightened a bit. But presently I saw my mother coming in the distance who told me to come home, my mother said: 'What business have you to come into this forest?' I was crying because my mother spoke very sternly, so I said to my mother, 'Mother, may I have a little talk with my friend?' My mother said: 'No, come home to tea.' So I said good-bye to my friend, then I woke up."

At the age of thirteen girls have many kinaesthetic dreams and some with conversations, of which the following are examples:

"The last dream I had was not very pleasant. I was walking along when I saw a little girl. I asked her if she would come for a walk with me. She said she would be pleased to come. While we were walking along, in front of us stood a high wall, which we tried to climb, and as we got near the top, so we fell down again. I tried to speak to the little girl, but I found she had gone, and I was alone, so I went and turned back, and I found myself on the top of Nelson's monument, and all at once all the four lions came and lay at my feet. I looked at all the people, and they all called to me to come down. I tried to jump, and I found myself in bed."

"I dreamt that I was sitting by the fire wishing to be with my aunt, when I heard a noise that sounded like somebody patting the window. I went forward and opened it and into the room a little white mouse jumped. After giving it some milk it seemed to grow bigger, and when it had grown as big as Beal, my kitten, he said to me, 'Every egg that you have eaten has made you a bigger criminal.' At this I was very astonished and said, 'Why?' 'Because you have eaten a great number of chickens.' 'They are very little use,' I answered, and with this I went out of the room."

A girl of this age also records a dream in which the dreamer was not present:

"I dreamt that we had a dog named Jack who loved his master very much, and after Daddy had been out in France for a little while the dog found its way to France and then found Daddy. He was ever so surprised at seeing the dog, and asked the general if he might take it home, and he was given permission to do so, and that was how we got Daddy home in my dream. Then soon after I woke up."

Children often combine in their dreams the incidents of the day before, bringing them to a happy conclusion. As one girls states: "I generally dream of doing something I could not do the day before." There is much evidence in the dreams of the clearing up of difficult situations.

Jealousy of other girls comes into girls' dreams at about the age of fourteen. At this age the girl friend is very prominent in the dream. Jealousy does not enter into the boy's dream.

Boys dream far more about sports than girls. In the dream records girls describe the scene in more detail than the boys, and include descriptions of the attire of the chief participants.

CHAPTER VII

DREAMS OF GIRLS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The girl in the secondary school generally comes from a cultured home and has well-to-do parents. The normal environment is of a very different nature from that of the elementary school child. In many cases, however, secondary school children have spent much of their time in the elementary school and have been transferred to the other type by means of scholarships or other forms of pecuniary aid by reason of their having unusual ability and having reached a higher standard of educational achievement. They thus represent a special class.

In comparing the dreams of girls in secondary schools with those in elementary schools it must be borne in mind that the range of age in secondary schools is ten to eighteen years, whereas that in elementary schools is eight to fourteen.

Taking first the ten to fourteen period common to both types of schools, some striking differences are to be noted:

1. The total number of fulfilled wishes in the dreams of the secondary school girl is very much reduced, especially those of presents other than food, and dreams about eating. In the latter, meals are rarely mentioned, the eating dreams referring rather to presents of sweets or chocolates. On the other hand, the number of fulfilled wishes referring

to visits to the country, travelling, and parties, largely exceed those in elementary schools.

2. Fear dreams are rather more common among girls in secondary schools than among those in elementary schools, especially those connected with strange men and women, and there is greater fear of animals.
3. The proportion of kinaesthetic dreams is very much greater among the secondary than the elementary school girls, especially at eleven and twelve years of age.
4. At all ages the secondary school girl dreams more about school activities than the elementary school girl. The fact that so many of the former type remain at school for the mid-day interval is an important factor. This results in the formation of more enduring friendships. In residential girls' schools this is still more accentuated.
5. Cinema films and the reading of exciting books before going to bed have more effect on the dreams of girls in secondary schools than on those in elementary schools.
6. The fairy story up to the age of fourteen affects the dreams of the secondary school girl as much as those of the elementary school girl.

The most important changes in the content of the dreams of the secondary school girl above the elementary school age are the following:

1. There is a steady decrease in the fulfilled wishes

about relatives coming home from the war, presents of any kind, and dreams about eating; but there is an increase in the proportion of those dealing with other forms of enjoyment. The material nature of the fulfilled wishes tends to disappear.

2. There is a striking increase found at the age of sixteen in the proportion of fear dreams, especially those connected with animals and strange men and women.
3. There is little change in the proportion of kinaesthetic dreams from twelve to fifteen years of age, but a further increase is to be observed at sixteen and seventeen years. For the whole range of the secondary school the proportion of kinaesthetic dreams is twice that of the elementary school, but it should be remembered that up to the age of ten this type of dream is comparatively rare.
4. From fourteen to seventeen years of age the girl dreams far more of her school activities than during the early years of the secondary school.
5. Above the age of fourteen the cinema and exciting book and the fairy story appear to have little effect on the girls' dreams.
6. The conversation in the dream, which is a common element in about 10 per cent of girls' dreams up to fourteen years of age, is rarely found in those of older girls.
7. At fourteen years of age there is an increase in the number of dreams in which the death element

occurs. After that the proportion again becomes normal.

8. Love sentiment dreams are more common at fifteen than at any other age of the secondary school period.

The following are a few typical dreams: In the dreams of these girls there are fewer references, as we have seen, to war experiences, but two of them are worthy of mention. One by a girl of twelve years of age who had a vivid dream about the signing of the Armistice:

> "I had the following dream on the night of November 10th, the night before the 'Cease Fire' Armistice was signed.
>
> "The Kaiser and his chancellors were seated at a long table, debating whether to sign the armistice or not. The Kaiser sat twirling his moustache angrily. He glanced round the table at the assembled people. Suddenly a flash of lightning lit up the room, then almost at the same time a terrific crash of thunder burst upon them. The Kaiser went pale. Then his favourite Chancellor spoke: 'The delay will do no good; sign it, Sire.' The Kaiser glanced at his friend, picked up his pen, and signed the armistice. The wind outside stopped, the rain ceased, and through the clouds floated a white figure, with a shining crown, and on it was written 'Peace.' It floated through the open window, hovered over the assembled com-

pany, and disappeared. The sun came out and shone on the Kaiser and his men.

"The Kaiser stood up: 'The audience is at an end,' he said. The Chancellors stood up and silently walked out, leaving the Kaiser to his meditations.

"Then I awoke."

The other is a dream of bravery and adventure by a girl of fourteen:

"I dreamt that I was captured by a German. I was sent to the palace of the Kaiser, as it was a very unusual occurrence for a girl to be captured. On arriving there I was taken to the Kaiserin. She received me very kindly. I was then taken to the Kaiser, who gave me a pen, and told me to sign a paper; as this paper was printed in German, I asked him what it meant, but he told me to do as I was told.

"After signing the paper the Kaiserin gave me something to eat. She was very kind to me, so I said, 'I thought that Germans were horrid people, but you have been very kind to me.' To this she replied, 'Yes, some are nice and some are not.'

"I told her that I had learnt a little German in school, and she seemed very pleased.

"After a time I saw something about a post office; I mentioned this to her, and she said, 'Yes, that is what I intend putting you into, but of course your earnings will come to me, because you must remember you are only a prisoner.'

"The Kaiserin told me that she would befriend me, but would not let the Kaiser know.

"When the Kaiser fled they went in a carriage. I was to have gone in the carriage, too, but I thought it too great an honour, and so I rode on the back.

"We stayed for a night at an inn, but as I was a prisoner, I slept in the stables. When we arrived in Holland the Kaiserin gave me in charge of a homely family, who were to send me back to England. When I said good-bye the Kaiserin slipped some notes into my hand, to pay for my homeward journey."

Both are dreams with conversation which are far more common in girls' than in boys' dreams.

The following domestic dream of a girl of fifteen is interesting as showing a tendency of the secondary school girl to deal with an amount of unimportant detail which is very rarely found in the records of boys' dreams.

"I was seated in a boot shop, which somehow seemed something like our kitchen, and yet it had all the fittings of a shop where new boots were sold, and others mended. My father and mother were both there, and I was asking to see some fancy indoor shoes.

"The first pair the man brought me were of black glacé kid, with patent-leather toe-caps and high heels. They were similar to what are called

court shoes, having no straps. I put them on and they fitted me perfectly, so I asked the price of them, and was very much astonished to hear that they were five pounds four and sixpence. I told the shop-keeper that they were too much, and inquired if he had something a little cheaper. He then brought a pair of rather shabby black brocaded ones, also with high heels.

"These also fitted me, and again I asked the price, which went to the opposite extreme, for they were only twopence halfpenny.

"I do not know whether I had these or not, for my dream suddenly ended, but I remember that both pairs had rubber heels, and I distinctly heard my father say that one of the pairs was to have the rubber taken off and a piece of leather put on instead.

"This dream almost seemed real, it was so vivid. I can even remember that one of the black brocade shoes had a tiny darn on one toe.

"It seems that I am bound to dream of shoes this week, for last night I was the proud owner of a pair of blue satin ball shoes, ornamented with diamonds. One shoe was mended slightly for me, and then I put them on and walked about as proud as a peacock. Everybody had to admire them and I even walked out in the street with them on."

It has been previously stated that children in elementary schools very rarely dream of school activities, whereas in secondary schools they frequently occur. Of

these the following are typical examples: The first is that of a girl of fourteen and the second that of one of sixteen years of age.

"Last Thursday I went to bed thinking of nothing but the dreadful to-morrow. It was our Latin examination! It is not that I do not like Latin; on the contrary, I am very fond of it, but when I thought of the awful exam. looming ahead, I felt as if I did not know anything at all. The next thing I remember was seeing my fatal red Latin book open and out of its leaves sprang innumerable little men; they did not look like anything I had ever seen before; they were pixies.

"The only thing my pixies seemed to do was to frisk about in a most bewildering fashion, but at last I understood; they were my Latin declensions. After a little while they were all arranged in a neat and trim order, and there was my Latin book.

"But, alas! just as I was getting on so beautifully with my unexpected Latin revision, at a sudden sharp order from the pronoun 'hic' all my pixies jumped up into the air, and I awoke to the plain fact that it was Friday and the dreaded day had arrived."

"There was nobody to be seen in or near the school and the whole place looked a deserted ruin. I took the cloakroom key and unlocked the cloakroom for myself and came to the formroom. All over the floor there were piles of books which

looked old and torn. As I opened the door they all jumped up and asked me what I wanted there; and a history-book asked me if I was Oliver Cromwell and a geography-book asked me from what country I came, and whether the climate was a Mediterranean one or not; while a grammar-book looked reproachfully at me and said, 'Why do you dislike me so?' I fled from the room with the books following me all round the school!"

As we have seen, the age of thirteen is one in which children in the elementary school frequently dream of death. It is the same with those in secondary schools of which the following dream of a thirteen-year-old girl of somewhat neurotic type, is an amusing example:

"I dreamt that I was ill and had several doctors in attendance. The doctors said that I was dying and could not live more than a few hours, while I felt that I was rapidly recovering. This I told the doctors, and no sooner had I said it than they began to do all manner of things to make me die sooner. They were very funny ways of killing people; one was this—one of the doctors put a doctor's thermometer in my mouth and began to heat the mercury in the bulb, saying that as the mercury rose up the thermometer I should feel as if I was having gas administered to me at the dentist's and gradually get more drowsy and yet more drowsy until I should drop off to sleep and never wake again. But this did not succeed, for

instead of getting drowsy I felt more awake than was usual. Then the doctor told mother to throw the window right up because fresh air would kill anyone, and mother was actually so hard-hearted as to do it. But, of course, this did not kill, but only revived me. Then the doctors all lost their tempers and said that they did not care whether I lived or died and left me alone. Then I began to get well quickly, but mother felt sure that I was dying and insisted on my saying farewell to everyone in the house, and just as I was saying good-bye to my baby brother I awoke—screaming with fright."

It has already been pointed out that kinaesthetic dreams are very common with secondary school children. Here is a good example of the dream of a thirteen-year-old girl.

"I suddenly had a feeling of going downwards with a regular movement. I thought I was going down to a tube station in a lift, but somebody seemed to be saying, 'Nearly through water, nearly through the water.' A few seconds later the moving stopped and I got out. A man, with one leg, who said he was a discharged soldier, told me that I was under the English Channel waiting for a vehicle, which was suspended in the water, to take me round the world in half an hour.

"These vehicles were worked entirely by discharged soldiers, who had been trying for some time to bring them to perfection.

"I found this mode of travelling had several disadvantages, for it was far below the sea, and there was no view, so that you could see nothing of the countries under which you were passing. Another disadvantage was that it had no stops, and there was no point in going round the world, only to return home half an hour later.

"While I was thus travelling, I think I must have gone into a sounder sleep, for I never remember coming to the surface again."

At the ages of sixteen and seventeen years this type of dream is exceptionally prevalent. A girl of sixteen records three dreams she had in one week. The kinaesthetic element is common to all of them. They are marked (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*):

(*a*) "I was standing at the top of a huge precipice. Below me, deep down, a mighty river could be seen. The sun could not reach down. I leaned farther over the edge. The sides of the precipice were covered with ferns and flowers. A bright flower down below me made me desire to pick it. I stretched out my hand and sank down, down, down. It seemed I would never reach the bottom. Suddenly I struck something and—I was awake."

(*b*) "I was in Antwerp. German soldiers could be seen drilling in our tiny street. I could not speak Flemish and the Belgians could not speak English. I determined to get away from our hateful

oppressors. It was four o'clock on a cold, misty morning when I disappeared from Antwerp. I reached the country outside the town and walked, unknowingly, into a group of soldiers. They asked me why it was that I was outside the town at that time. They spoke to me in English, but they were Germans. I appeared not to understand, and, as they were drunk, I soon escaped from them. All I knew after this was that I walked a long, long way until I had reached safety."

(*c*) "Something was behind me; I was running as if I had wings. After some time I felt all the power go out of me, and I stood quite still—and nothing happened. I turned round but could see nothing because it was dark. The stillness oppressed me. I wanted to run. Again I started to run, and again I felt I was pursued by something. Each time I stopped the mysterious pursuer stopped. Home appeared in front of me. But everything seemed set out to trip me up. Things then seemed to turn upside down. When I had reached home something rushed past the window and I was safe!"

From a preface to a dream of a girl of fifteen it appeared that she was in great trouble at having to leave her school and go to a college for a course of special training. She was also distressed because her father had refused to give her a bicycle. The dream that followed was a typical wish-fulfilment dream.

At her first appearance at the college she found that many of her old friends from school were there, and

after the happiest of days she rode home on a bicycle which her father had given to her.

With girls of fourteen and fifteen dreams of great friendships and violent quarrels with other girls of the same school are not infrequent.

The chief pleasure dreams of girls of fifteen to seventeen are of the seaside, and bathing is the central element.

From thirteen years of age onwards a few of the girls' dreams become more difficult to resolve into simple elements, and this difficulty becomes more accentuated in the dreams of girls of sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen. In these there appears to be a certain amount of camouflage which only the psychoanalytic expert could deal with effectively.

CHAPTER VIII

DREAMS OF CHILDREN IN INDUSTRIAL AND REFORMATORY SCHOOLS

THERE is no type of school in which the compensatory function of the dream is so clearly marked as in the industrial schools. The children have practically all had terrible experiences of wrecked homes and dissolute parents. Many of them have also had extensive thieving experiences which resulted in their commitment by the magistrates to these institutions. The dreams of children in these schools are of special interest, and in some respects they have marked characteristics which separate them clearly from those of normal, elementary school children. The dreams are frequent and vivid. The age range is ten to sixteen years. There is nothing to indicate harsh treatment at the schools, and the fact that many of the teachers play a friendly part in the dreams, coming to the rescue in perilous times, and in many other ways, shows that the children are on good terms with those in authority. The comparative monotony of institutional life, however, finds undoubted solace in the dreams of fulfilled wishes and those of bravery and adventure.

The most clearly marked differences in the dreams of these children, as compared with those of normal children, are:

1. The greater number of dreams of the clearly

defined wish-fulfilment type. Nearly half the dreams are of this nature.

2. The extraordinarily close approximation of the proportion of the wish-fulfilment dreams, fear dreams, and kinaesthetic dreams of the boys to those of the girls.
3. The fulfilled wishes are of a very special type, consisting principally of dreams of home-life; of visits of parents to the school; of large parcels from home, containing many presents; of changes of fortune; of success in life; of deeds of valour and promotion to positions of great responsibility. The industrial school child is a most ambitious and imaginative dreamer.
4. The fear dreams are very similar among boys and girls. The boy, however, especially at the age of fourteen, dreams occasionally of ghosts, and at all ages the girl dreams more of houses on fire.
5. A very marked difference is to be observed in the kinaesthetic dreams. The proportion among boys and girls is practically the same, but they are much less frequent than among normal children. It would appear that the regular life of the institution is not conducive to this type of dream.
6. The family group takes comparatively little part in the dreams, their place being taken by the boy's chum and the girl's particular friend. The proportion of someone other than the chief figure taking part in the dream is about the same as in the dreams of normal children.

In industrial schools many boys of thirteen and fourteen dream of joining the Air Force. There are very few neurotic dreams among the girls; they are generally very imaginative but quite healthy. Among the girls, thieving very rarely comes into the dream, and of twenty-three cases recorded in the boys' dreams there appeared to be only one case for which there was any consciousness of wrong; stealing in the industrial boy's dream is simply a normal form of adventure.

In industrial schools the conditions of life of the boy and girl approximate far more closely than those of normal children attending day schools, and it is very interesting to observe, as seen in the results of the analyses, the effect upon the dream, the remarkable similarity in many important elements, especially as regards wish-fulfilment, fear, and kinaesthetic dreams.

Another reason for the extraordinary interest of the dreams of these children is that they have been thrown so much upon their own resources and have passed through such a variety of experiences that the content of the unconscious is far richer than that of the normal child who has led an uneventful and fully-protected existence. In some cases the dreams, in their richness of material and effective combinations, are years ahead of those of normal children. This becomes more striking still when it is remembered how unfavourable is the nomadic life for acquiring the educational background needed for graphic description in the recording of dreams. It would seem to indicate that there is an abnormal amount of natural ability in the children of the industrial schools.

The following dream of a boy of fourteen is typical:

> "My last dream was of motors, motor-bicycles, and aeroplanes, all of which I thought I possessed. I went into business with the idea of becoming like Selfridge's and to possess everything. I first had a motor-bicycle, which I bought very cheaply, but thought a motor better, so I bought one. I always carried my motor-bicycle at the back of my car. One day I met a nice young lady but before long forgot about her. My business becoming great, I bought an aeroplane. I had many trips in my aeroplane, the greatest being to Australia. While in Australia I set up another business and at last became a millionaire. I asked my mother to come across but she would not, so I went to her. Until this time I did not possess a house, but after trouble I saw a beautiful large mansion and bought it. Having nothing to do I became a doctor and became renowned for my being able to cure the influenza."

Here is another similar dream of great success in after life by a boy of twelve years of age:

> "I dreamt I left this school, and had a good situation as an engineer. I dreamt that after a long time I rose to be chief engineer and that I was rolling in money. One day, when I was instructing some men about machinery, I was informed that a gentleman wished to converse with me. When he

was in my office I was astonished to see that he was my own superintendent, but what made me startled was that he asked me for employment. He said he knew a considerable amount about mechanics. I knew I was short of men so I employed him as my own chauffeur."

The children frequently dream of mixing with people in exalted positions on terms of equality. As an example of this type may be quoted the dream of a girl of thirteen:

"I dreamt that we had a party and we invited some outside people, the Kaiser and Prince Willie were there; I was sitting on the fender by the prince and three of my friends. The gramophone was playing and we were told to get up and dance, so my three friends pushed me out to dance with the prince and we were dancing, and the people were having a good laugh at us."

The following dream of a boy of thirteen is particularly characteristic and is of a very different nature from the normal wish-fulfilment dream of an ordinary child.

"I dreamt that I went home for three weeks. The first day I went to my sister's house and she let me sleep in her bed. She gave me some money, cake, and some toffee. The next week I went to my uncle's house and he said that I had grown and that I was very fat. I slept in his house for eleven

days. It was my birthday on the seventh day so my uncle gave me a pony and a cart. I had a long ride home again and showed them to my mother, father, and the children, and my father said that he would buy me a motor and my mother said she would buy me a silver watch and chain. Just then someone made a noise and woke me up."

Dreams of bravery and adventure do not differ so much from those of children in elementary schools, but are rather more extravagant. The following record of a fourteen-year-old boy is fairly typical:

"Last night I dreamt about a journey over to Germany in an aeroplane. I went over to Germany to kill the Kaiser. In my journey I passed many wonderful sights. After many adventures I reached Germany. As I was flying over Germany I spotted the Kaiser's house and dropped a bomb on it. It happened to be that the Kaiser was inside it. It blew him to pieces and all that was in it. After that I was getting ready to go back to England. I was returning back when seven German aeroplanes chased me. They levelled with me so I had to fight them, in which I was victorious. When I got back to England I was rewarded with the Victoria Cross for being victor of the battle with the seven German aeroplanes and £1,000 for the death of the Kaiser. I was just having the Victoria Cross and the £1,000 when I heard a voice and it said, 'Turn out of bed.' "

The dream of a robbery by a boy of fourteen is recorded rather as an adventure than as a theft, in which he justifies his action as regards his companion in crime.

> "I dreamt that I went to live in Australia, and while I was there a gold mine was found, and crowds of people flocked to the mine and I was with them. When we had been waiting there a long time a big, wealthy man came out whom I guessed was the manager. He was dressed in a big tweed suit and a gold watch and chain on his waistcoat. He walked about the men, picking out the men he needed and I was one of them. When he had got our names we began to build our huts, two men to each hut. Next day we went down into the mine with our picks and shovels and began to work. When we came to the gold it was taken up to the top and stored in a little hut. When we had finished the day's work my companion says to me, 'We'll get some of that gold and clear off to-night and we will take it to my home.' That night we got some gold and took it to his home; while I was there I heard him say to his wife, 'We'll do away with this chap.' So in the night I got up, took the gold, and made tracks for home."

The fear dreams recorded are of an unusual type and are vividly described. The following dream is that of a girl of fourteen years of age:

"I dreamt I heard scratching, and then a very large black rat rushed across the dormitory. It chased us up one flight of stairs and down the other. Just as we were running along the top passage a train came upstairs. The rat pushed us all in and very soon we came to Victoria Station. Here we tried to get out, but there were no doors, so the rat made holes in the top of the train and we jumped out. As the rat came on to the platform it changed into a man. We were very frightened of him."

Among the more vivid dreamers were:

(*a*) A girl of fifteen who dreamt of a real storm of living cats and dogs.

(*b*) A boy of twelve who has a conversation with a worm with a large head. On cutting off the head the tail pursued the terrified boy, shouting, "Give me back my head."

(*c*) A girl of eleven who, describing her own funeral, at which she was an onlooker, criticized adversely the wreath which was sent by her schoolfellows.

(*d*) A boy of twelve who dreamt that his mother was converted into a china ornament which was accidentally broken.

It will be seen from the examples given that generally the content of the dream of the industrial school child is much richer than that of the ordinary child of the same age and in many ways the dream is far more interesting.

CHAPTER IX

DREAMS OF BLIND, DEAF, AND PHYSICALLY DEFECTIVE CHILDREN

THERE are very clearly marked differences in the dreams of deaf and blind children. The deaf child can draw upon a rich field of visual experiences which, in their fantastic combinations, give such a wealth of interest to the dream; whereas these experiences are wanting in the dream of the child who has been blind from birth.

The percentage of clearly defined wish-fulfilments in both types of child corresponds closely to that of normal children, but the wishes are of a different nature. Concerts, parties, and domestic experience bulk largely in the dreams of the blind child, and there is not that variety which corresponds to the much fuller life of the deaf child. In the latter, visits of the town child to the country form, especially among older children, a very important item, whereas in the former, there are practically no references to such experiences. The railway journey, the change of scene, and even the seaside have no message for the blind child.

The fears of the deaf and blind are somewhat in excess of those of normal children. In both the fear of animals is greater than among ordinary children, and in the case of the deaf it is twice as great as in that of the blind. The fear of fire is far greater among the blind, particularly in young children, than in any other type

of child. The air raid also had a much greater terror for the blind child than for normal children. A year after the last raid it formed an unwelcome element in a large percentage of his dreams. On the whole, blind children, especially up to the age of twelve years, dream far less than deaf children.

It is interesting to observe that, whilst among blind children the proportion of kinaesthetic dreams for the same age is very considerably below that of normal seeing children, this type of dream is practically non-existent among deaf children. This is of considerable importance as evidence in support of the physiological theory of the kinaesthetic dream.

Bravery and adventure figure very prominently in the dreams of deaf girls, far more so than in the dreams of girls in elementary and secondary schools. Associated with this it is interesting to note that the air raid left practically no trace on the dream of the deaf girl. The deaf girl, in fact, in her love of bravery and adventure, approximates closely to the elementary school boy of the same age. Bravery and adventure have no place in the dream of the blind child. The fairy story makes a much stronger appeal to the deaf than to the blind girl.

Dreams in which conversations are recorded are in about the same proportion among blind as among normal children, but in deaf children they are far more common, the relative numbers being thirteen to five.

The family group or special friends enter into the dreams of both blind and deaf children in much the same proportion as in those of ordinary children.

The bravery and adventure dreams of deaf girls generally take the form of the dreamers acting as air-women and frequently as spies. A girl of fifteen and her friend go to the Western Front disguised as Germans, set free a number of British prisoners, kill the Kaiser, and are presented with medals by the King. Another girl kills the Kaiser and is congratulated by British officers, who give her ten medals.

Deaf girls dream much of personal adornment, which is entirely lacking in dreams of blind girls.

Many blind children claim to see in their dreams. A girl of fourteen says, "I can always see in my dreams. I have never yet had a dream without seeing quite plainly." But the dreams recorded are generally of an uneventful nature dealing with domestic incidents in which vision takes no part. There are many auditory dreams and a few taste dreams. In the deaf child's dream descriptions of the clothes worn by the actors frequently occur, but these are rarely to be found in the dreams of the blind; and there is scarcely ever any mention of colour, although some blind children associate special colours with particular objects.

Deaf children also state that in their dreams they hear clearly, and, as has been pointed out, the accounts of their dreams contain more definite conversations than those of any other type of child. The more intelligent blind children take great interest in the books specially prepared for them. An account of *Lorna Doone*, in which the child took one of the characters in the book in her dream, was of unusual interest. Blind children form great friendships with girls at the

same school, and in their dreams it is frequently the girl friend who is present rather than members of the family group.

There is no evidence whatever in the dreams analysed that a child blind from birth ever sees as a dreamer, but there is abundant evidence that those who have recently become blind see clearly. The age of becoming blind appears to be the deciding factor. Jastrow and Heermann, quite independently, investigated this point fully. Their researches point to the following conclusions:

1. That a child who becomes blind before the age of five never sees in his dreams.
2. That when total blindness occurs between the ages of five and seven, much depends on the mental development of the child as to whether he sees in dreams in after-life or not. The well-developed child mentally certainly does; the evidence with regard to the others is not so clear.
3. That all dreamers becoming blind after the age of seven see in dreams even after an interval of twenty or thirty years; and apparently with little diminution in clearness.

These conclusions are well established. The question with regard to the partially blind seeing more clearly in dreams than in waking life is more open to doubt.

The compensatory nature of the dream and its fairy element are also well shown in the stories of physically defective children. A lame boy, who dreamed of escaping from a bull by flight, adds to the record of his

dream: "I never dreamt that I had a bad leg." Another good example of a wish-fulfilment dream is the following, of a very poor crippled boy of fourteen. He dreamed of wealth and physical vigour:

> "I dreamt that I had plenty of money. I drew a thousand pounds out of the bank. I was coming along the road when two men came and tried to take it from me. The two men started fighting me to get the money and I gave both of them a knock-out blow. I went to bed that night and put the money under my pillow, and when I awoke I was hunting all over the bed for it. I did not find it."

Physically defective children sometimes explain the origin of their dreams. A boy had an exciting dream of a man shooting rabbits from a low-flying aeroplane, and he was running along picking up the rabbits. He explains it as follows:

> "Early in the day we were playing cricket and I remember seeing an aeroplane and after my dream, in the morning, I heard some of the boys in the school saying that they had heard someone shooting rabbits in the evening; so I expect my dream was due to seeing an aeroplane in the day and hearing the shots of the man shooting rabbits in the evening in my sleep."

The dreams of the deaf child though of greater interest, for the reasons stated, than those of the blind,

cannot compare, in richness of content, wth the dreams of the industrial-school child.

A twelve-year-old deaf boy had a persistent dream of a foot, which was probably the result of a report that his father, who was a sailor, had recently had an accident at sea in which he had broken his ankle:

> "One night I dreamt of a foot. I thought it was lying down on the floor and I, not expecting such a thing, fell over it. It seemed to be the same shape as my own foot. The foot suddenly jumped up and started running after me; I thought I jumped right through the window, ran round the yard out into the street, and running along as fast as my legs would carry me. I thought I ran to Woolwich, and then it suddenly caught me and shook me, and then I woke up. I have dreamt about this foot several times."

Some deaf children fail to reach a satisfactory standard of education in spite of careful training in special schools for the deaf. The following dream of a girl of fifteen who was deaf from birth does not compare favourably with the record of an ordinary child of ten:

> "I dreamt that I dressed properly and went out for a walk. A nice boy came to me and said, 'Would you like to be my sweetheart?' I said yes, and he took me to the picture palace. Next day he knocked at my door. I opened the door, and shook hands

with him and said, 'Come in.' He sat down in the parlour; I put my hat and coat on and went out for a walk. I said to him, 'Do you want some tea with me?' He said, 'Yes, please.' We had bread and butter and jam, breakfast biscuits, and cakes and tea. I washed the things up and I put on my hat and coat and went out to church about seven o'clock. He asked me, 'Would you like to marry me next Sunday?' I said, 'Yes please.' He bought some wedding cake with ice on it and a wedding ring. Next Saturday I made a veil for myself. On the wedding day he came home. The motor-car came to my house. He took my arm and we went in the motor to church. He gave me a ring and kissed me, and Harry, Mother, Father, and the children."

In stories of bravery and adventure a higher standard is reached as shown in the account given of her dream by a girl of sixteen who had also been deaf from birth:

"Last night I dreamt that I went for a walk and I saw a big aeroplane and the airmen went to a shop to buy something. Then I went into the aeroplane and I flew straight from Oxford Street to Berlin. I saw a lot of Germans marching about, and I went down to the ground. One of them was dead and I took the German's coat, trousers, cap, and gun and wore them. I saw the Germans drinking beer and I went into a big building, where I saw a lot of British soldiers in the prison. They were very unhappy because they wanted to

eat and drink. Then two of the Germans went to sleep behind the prison and I took a pair of boots and I took the guns and a big key and I told the British soldiers that I was an English girl. They were very glad. When it was dark I opened the door and they followed me, and I gave them the Germans' horses. They had all gone except me. Next morning the Germans were very surprised and they told the Kaiser about the prisoners. Then he was very angry with them. One night I went to a private room and I wanted to find a secret paper. At last I found it in the Kaiser's case. Suddenly the Germans saw me and caught me, but I ate the piece of paper. Then they took me to the Kaiser and he was very angry with me and put me in the prison. The British soldiers never heard about me and they thought that the Germans had caught me. Next day the Kaiser told the Germans to shoot me because I ate the secret paper; then they shot me. The Allies captured the Germans, but they could not find me. One of the soldiers found me in a room and carried me to a motor and sent me to the hospital in France, and the doctor said that I was a brave girl because I ate the secret paper."

A similar dream by a girl of the same age, but who had only been deaf for nine years, is of a more ordinary type:

"On Saturday night I dreamt I was a hearing girl and I was an airwoman. I flew over Germany

and stole some German secret plans. I flew back to England again and gave the plans to Mr. Lloyd George. The people cheered me because the plans were about the Peace Terms, and in the next week the war came to an end and peace was signed. I thought my story was printed in a newspaper, which said I brought this war to an end."

The blind children, especially the young ones, are troubled with fear dreams in which animals take a prominent place. A boy of eleven dreams of rats:

"One night I had a dream. I thought I saw a great rat making a large hole in our bedroom floor. When he had made a hole large enough for him to get through he called six other rats. I seemed to imagine they were going to take refuge in the fireplace. Then I thought I saw a cat come into the room. As soon as the rats heard the cat they fled away. Then I woke to find it was morning."

Whereas a girl of the same age dreams of mice and beetles:

"I dreamt I was having a bath when one of our matrons told me to go into the dining-room to get a doll and pram for one of the children. She told me that I need not put my shoes and stockings on, so I went into the dining-room, and I was so frightened because I thought I saw a lot of mice and beetles running after me, and I thought they were biting me. And I was crying and screaming,

and I said I would not go into the dining-room again at night. When I woke up there were tears on my pillow where I had been crying."

The following record of a dream of a girl of thirteen is of an unusual type for a blind child involving conversation and talking animals. Apparently she was in a neurotic condition:

"I dreamt I was playing in the playground with a long rope. My little sister and big sister were up the other end of the playground. In came a big black dog and came up to me. I was frightened so I ran up to my sister and the dog followed me. Then we walked up the playground to go into the school. The dog came up to me and said, 'How do you do, Annie?' But I did not answer. He asked me again and again, but I would not answer him. So he went round to my little sister and said, 'How do you do, Winnie?' She said, 'Quite well, thank you.' He said, 'Annie will not speak to me.' When we went into the school we shut the doors so that the dog could not get in. But the dog pulled them open again. Then the dog asked me to sit down with him to have a talk. But I would not, so he asked my sister Winnie, and she went and sat down with him. There was a lady and the cook and my sister talking about what they could do with him. Then the lady said, 'Cut off his head.' Then we said, 'Hush, because he can hear you.' The cook went to get a knife, but the dog escaped. That night

when I was in bed the girls said, 'There is a big brown dog come in the front gate.' It was night, but all the girls were sitting up in bed eating their dinner. Then the dog came up to me and started jumping up to me. Then I jumped up in bed and woke up."

As we have seen, blind children are terrified of fires and frequently dream of them. The following dreams of two boys of fourteen years are illustrations of this:

"I was sound asleep in bed when I was awakened by my mother who shouted 'Quick, Frank! the house is on fire.'

"I was up in an instant and was trying to dress myself when my mother caught hold of me and forced her way down the stairs. It was too late. The flames had hold of us and as I was burning I could hear the voices of the people and my mother's voice gradually fading and my body was all alight.

"Just as I was feeling the flames catch my hair something went 'bang!' and immediately I awoke."

The second dream is well recorded and gives interesting details reminiscent of fire drill:

"One night I dreamed that our school was on fire. The bells rang all over the building telling us that something was wrong. The master came in and told us all to keep calm and get dressed quickly. When we were dressed we got our partners and went down to the lawn.

"Then the fire brigade came and they asked some of the boys to help them to hold the water pipes. Then we were taken into the gymnasium so that we should not take cold. The gas was turned off for safety. The fire lasted about three hours. The firemen went away but we could not sleep in the house. Some blankets had been salved so we had one each and went to sleep in the gymnasium."

A dream of a thirteen-year-old girl is characteristic as showing the kind of confusion which could only occur in the case of a blind child:

"One night I had a most peculiar dream. I dreamt that my sister was getting married. In the other part of the house I dreamt that there was a funeral. I could not make out who the person was who was being buried in the part of the house where the funeral was being carried out. The wedding service was in the same church as the funeral service. The people in the wedding and the people in the funeral were reversed. The people in the funeral were very happy and the people in the wedding who ought to have been happy were very disappointed and solemn."

Physically defective children sometimes use very graphic language in recording their dreams. For example one narrative concludes with "my mind then shut and I dreamt no more." A somewhat neurotic crippled boy of thirteen after describing a dream of adventure, says: "A little later I was in prison. I do not

remember going there but I was there. When I asked what the charge was they said 'The income tax was overdue.' I at once collapsed."

The compensatory value of the dream extends to adults. Practically all wounded soldiers in the war who had lost limbs and suffered other disabilities were fully restored to the normal condition of physical well-being in their dreams.

CHAPTER X

EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF THE DREAM

REFERENCES have already been made (1) to the great value of the dream in the diagnosis of mental diseases; and (2) to the great difference that exists between the dreams of children and those of neurotic adults, or even those of normal adults. Freud himself calls attention to the fact that his study of dreams is almost entirely based upon the dreams of neurotics. The question now arises, to what extent the dream of the child may yield such additional information to that previously possessed as will be of value to the teacher? It is suggested that a careful study of children's dreams may throw much light on the special interests and desires of the child at different ages, and, especially where persistent dreams are recorded of unfulfilled wishes, on those elements which are conspicuously lacking in the life of the child and which may seriously interfere with his natural development. The most obvious of these are dreams which indicate underfeeding and those which give evidence of undue stress and strain.

The normal child thoroughly enjoys school life, but not infrequently cases are found in which the child, for no obvious reason, is absolutely out of harmony with his surroundings. He is not lacking in ability, is apparently healthy, and has definite out-of-school interests, but his life in school is one of continual opposition to authority. The dreams of this type of

difficult child would be of special interest and might be of the greatest value, not only in indicating some particular line of possible development, but also in throwing light upon any special feature wanting in his environment. The weakly, neurotic child would naturally be dealt with by the medical officer or the psychoanalyst. A special study of children's fears at different ages would also be of considerable value, but for this purpose dreams should be recorded at regular intervals. Thus, in a variety of ways in the normal life of the school, much useful information may be obtained by a study of children's dreams which cannot be secured so well by any other method.

From various sources there comes a large body of evidence as to the very great influence the unconscious exerts in every department of mental activity, and a fuller knowledge of the unconscious is as essential in dealing with the normal development of children as in the abnormal cases in which it has proved to be of such extraordinary value. If this be true, then the dream as a valuable means of investigating the unconscious must play a very important rôle in the educational developments of the future.

Although the unconscious in the past has received far less attention than it deserves, every student of child nature has felt that in the mental make-up of the child there is some very powerful influence at work over which he has no control, and the action of which in affecting the child's behaviour under varying conditions he cannot successfully prophesy.

In *The New Psychology of the Unconscious*, Professor

Valentine adds a further interesting suggestion as to the function of the dream.

"As we have seen, the dominant Freudian conception of the dream (so far as the dream has meaning at all) is that of a means of experiencing in fancy the fulfilment of repressed wishes, now buried in the unconscious. We have added the further idea that the dream may see the completion of any mental process begun in waking life, but interrupted before coming to a satisfactory conclusion, or perhaps more particularly before being brought into unified relation with other impulses and thoughts, but without any further kind of repression; and the completion takes place through the energy, frustrated for the time, of that mental process itself."

This finds support in Watt's suggestion in *The Commonsense of Dreams* who claims, we have seen, that a removal of a reluctance or reluctances, experienced in the waking state, may clear the way for their solution in the dream, which thus serves a very useful purpose.

In the solution of difficult problems with regard to children's dreams, the Child Guidance Clinic is destined to play a very important part. The School Clinic has long been established in America with remarkably good results. Its value is now thoroughly recognized in this country, and in the near future there will probably be in every important area a clinic within measurable distance of the schools. It will become a normal part of the educational equipment of every district to which will be referred unstable and neurotic children, who, by reason of some mental disability, are unable to profit adequately by the ordinary course of

instruction in the schools. As problem cases are the ones generally sent to the clinic it would appear that the dreams of such children might afford additional information and render valuable assistance in the diagnosis of their maladjustments. The clinics will have as members of the staff skilled psychiatrists and psychologists, and will be in constant touch with the homes of difficult children.

It is unfortunate that so little provision is made for the mental welfare of pre-school children at the time when the need for expert guidance is so great. The study of the dreams of such children is interesting and illuminating both as regards their racial inheritance and their natural disposition. There is a large body of evidence that children dream during the first year of life and that such dreams do not appear to be of a "presentative" nature. Later on the type of dream varies at different stages of development. During the waking state each of us lives a general life bound up with the common existence of other human beings with whom we are grouped, but during sleep each of us is buried in his own world. In dreams all social differences disappear and we obtain perfect equality. As a result of the greater freedom of dream life we may recall material which escaped us when awake.

It is interesting to note that women are greater dreamers than men, but men talk much more in their sleep than women. Investigation also shows that unmarried women dream much more than married women. In old-age dreams are almost exclusively of matters which occurred in childhood and youth.

In dream literature, as we have seen, insufficient attention is given to the extraordinary compensatory value of the dream. It has been shown in the many records of children's dreams that, under its influence, the deaf can hear, the blind see, and sorely handicapped crippled children can perform feats of great physical endurance. Moreover, as was seen in the accounts of the dreams of children in industrial schools, those who had missed all the care and affection surrounding the happy child in a well-ordered home were transferred in dreamland to ideal surroundings where every wish was gratified.

Havelock Ellis, in his study of dreams, draws attention to the points of resemblance between dream life and the mental activity of children. In imaginative children a rich and vivid dream life is not infrequently the direct source of literary activities which lead to distinction in later life. Imaginative and artistic men have always been prone to day-dreaming and reverie. In this connection Valentine points out "it seems reasonable to suppose that if dreams arise through primitive impulses being repressed because they are too bad, dreams might also arise from higher impulses and thoughts repressed because they are too ideal or make too great a claim upon us. Such repressions, no doubt, occur in most persons."

The mystery of mysteries in education is the prodigious progress made by the intelligent child during the period of five to nine years of age, a rate of progress in mental achievement out of all proportion to that of any other period of life. It cannot be explained by the

intense interest in life and the retentive memory of a child at this age. It is not only in mental content that the advance is so marked, there is also a power of dealing with the acquired material which points clearly to the drawing on reserves of which we have only an imperfect knowledge.

In this connection much insight into the child mind can be obtained by a study of children's essays on subjects in which they are deeply interested and have first-hand knowledge, and in which, moreover, they are describing their own experiences. Their power of graphic description—of conciseness in expression—of dramatic record of events—and frequently of excellent construction of difficult sentences, make it almost impossible to regard the result as the unaided work of an immature child. The records of dreams of which examples are given in the preceding chapters were selected for a special purpose, but some of them indicate a standard of achievement considerably beyond the normal for children of the stated age. Some of the others which are not quoted were remarkable performances for quite young children. A distinguished authority has stated that "the dramatic power of a dunce in dreaming exceeds that which is displayed by the most imaginative writer in his waking state."

If the content of the unconscious consists of the racial inheritance in addition to repressed material of a personal character, it would be reasonable to suppose that the unconscious of the young child would in much larger proportion consist of the former element, and that the contributions from this source would be much richer

than to those of riper years. It is also reasonable to suppose that the racial inheritance would be the dominating factor in that general ability which varies to such a great extent in children. This variation can be clearly seen in any group of very young children of the same age. It would appear, therefore, that a knowledge of the unconscious of the child is a matter of prime importance, and that the dream should be fully utilized for the purpose of gaining as much information about it as is possible.

As a result of an investigation of dreams carried out with unusual thoroughness and care, De Sanctis came to the conclusion that dream life is a revelation of individual character. This is especially the case with young children. The dream lets in a flood of light as to the temperament and mental make-up of the child; it may also indicate the presence of repressed material in the unconscious.

It is confidently claimed that with the assistance of the experts associated with the school clinic the scientific investigation of children's dreams may become a very valuable element in educational procedure. There is ample evidence that there is in the dream of the child an excellent field for patient research. There are many problems in early child life which are in urgent need of solution, and in this important work a careful study of children's dreams may play a very useful part and, incidentally, prevent the ever-present danger of adopting methods of instruction which may result in the baneful effects of repression.

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